

# THE LIFE OF A MONASTIC SHŌ IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

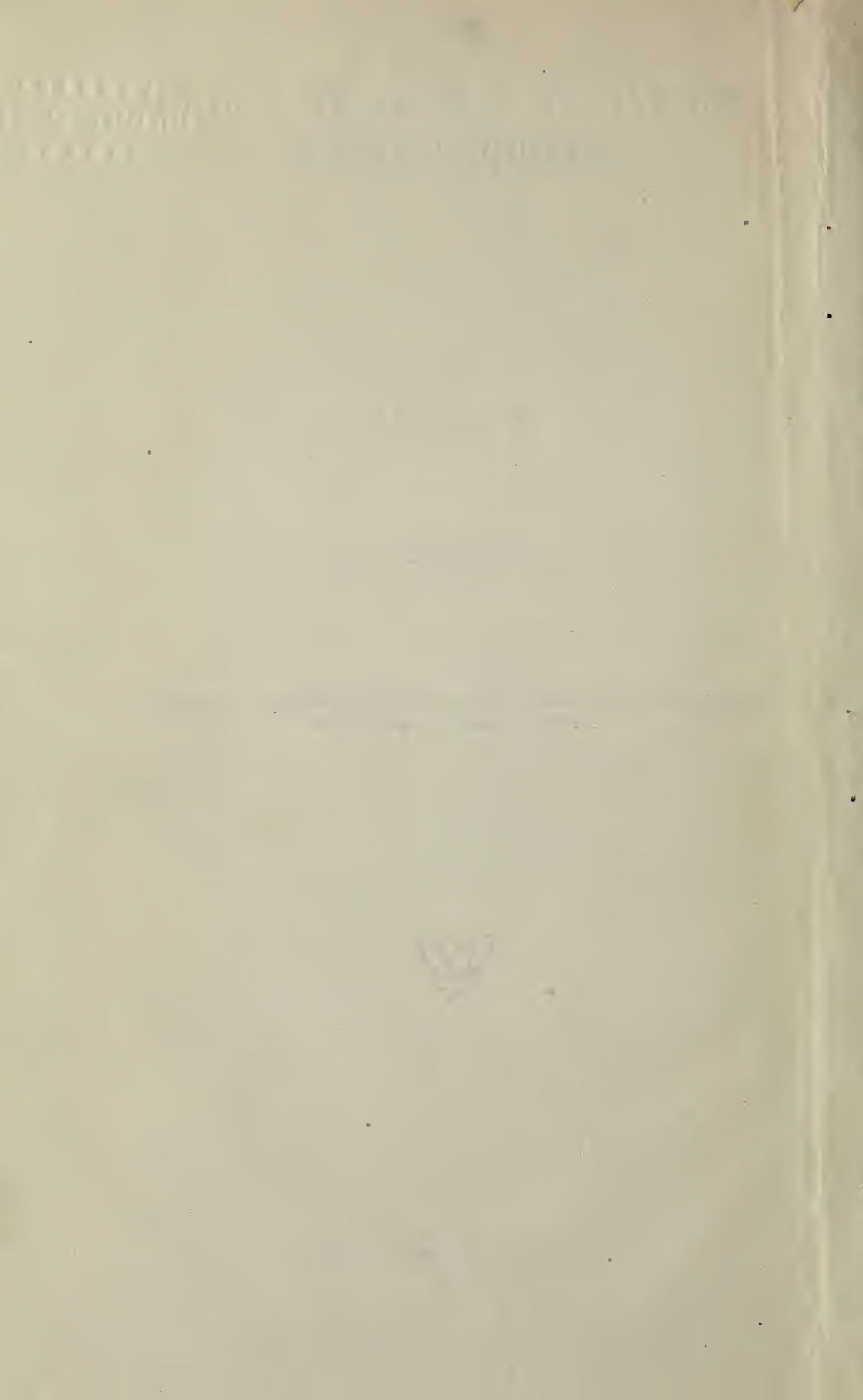
BY  
*K. Asakawa*  
K. ASAKAWA

---

Reprinted from the Annual Report of the American Historical Association  
for 1916, Volume I, pages 311-342



WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1919



26 JUL 21 Reid

333  
As 12 l

---

## X. THE LIFE OF A MONASTIC SHŌ IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN.

---

By K. ASAKAWA,

*Assistant Professor of History in Yale University.*

---

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2017 with funding from  
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Alternates

## THE LIFE OF A MONASTIC SHŌ IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN.\*

By K. ASAKAWA.

The shō hardly lends itself to a simple definition, for, in its prolonged career of 800 years between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries, it epitomized, as it were, progressive changes in the general institutional life of Japan during this unusually eventful period. Taking the shō, however, at its full growth in the twelfth century, one may perhaps define it as a piece of land which was held privately under a lord by persons in varied and changeable tenures, and which nevertheless formed an administrative entity enjoying a degree of fiscal and judicial autonomy. This condensed description may perhaps be clarified by means of a comparison. The shō has been translated by an English historian of Japan as manor.<sup>1</sup> Like the manor in medieval Europe and England, the shō was a unit at once economic and political, in which its public functions had become private possessions of its proprietors, and in which the rights and obligations of persons were determined by their tenures of land. There was a marked difference, however, between the two institutions. The manor possessed features resembling those of a village community, but the shō reminds one of a "scattered farm" system; instead of comprising, like the typical manor, rectangular strips of arable land laid out and administered by a joint intervention of lord and tenants, the shō consisted, in its cultivated portions, of plots which were irregular in shape, size, and position, and were for the most part managed independently by their holders.<sup>2</sup> Again, these tenants, unlike those in the manor, whose tenures were comparatively simple and stationary, were bound together by a network of legal relations between one another and between them and the lord which were not only intricate but also capable, so long as the fiscal rights of the lord were not affected, of continual change. If, therefore, a chief problem of the origin of the manor concerns its element of common management, the first question regarding the shō must relate to the cause of its growth as a congeries of changeable interests and relations loosely bundled together under a seignior.

This question will be partly answered in the brief account<sup>3</sup> of the origin of the shō that follows. The agriculture of Japan in her

\* The footnotes to this article will be found, arranged continuously, at the end of the article.



early historic ages seems to have been of a "scattered farm" system, which was accompanied, at least as regards rice land, by a system of private ownership, vested either in the family or in the individual. These conditions were presumably due to the absence of pasture<sup>4</sup> and, above all, the cultivation of rice<sup>5</sup> as the chief industry of the peasants; the rice culture required irrigable lowlands,<sup>6</sup> a fact which in that hilly country made a scattered farm system natural; the rice culture also involved constant care and highly individualized labor,<sup>5</sup> which were facilitated under a system of exclusive private ownership in small fields.<sup>7</sup> In defiance of these conditions, the government of the seventh century made a radical attempt to arrange the free taxable population in artificial communities of 50 families, and to impose upon it a system of equal allotment of rice land subject to a periodical redistribution. Within a short time the new system broke down on all sides. The greatest breach was made first through a natural combination of the immune classes of persons with the immune classes of land that had been devised in the system; the nobility, the clergy, and the unfree, who were exempt from tributes and forced labor, established connections with "imperial lands," lands granted by the emperor, and "temple lands," that were free from the land tax. Far more serious troubles arose when immune persons appropriated tracts of wild or newly tilled land and sought to convert them into immune lands. The result was the shō. Shō made their appearance from the eighth century, at first few and small and not always immune, but gradually absorbing other lands, including taxable lands, and making them partly or wholly immune. This process was at length officially sanctioned from the tenth century,<sup>8</sup> especially after the eleventh, when the authorities were constrained to grant charters of immunity to some of the shō, in order to distinguish them from others which were still considered illegitimate. The creation and extension of shō now went on apace at the expense of the State.

This would appear to be a reversion from an artificial village community to a scattered-farm system, and to private ownership; but these reappeared in a totally new form. The typical shō was born of a newly-cultivated tract, and, with this as its core, it matured by a double process of absorbing neighboring tracts and dividing its growing self. But the annexation and subdivision were not always made of the actual land. The native genius of the race for adaptability found its expression here in a free division of the various interests and rights relative to land, in their investment in different hands, and in their almost indefinite redivision and conveyance. Thus were greatly facilitated transactions in proprietary and usufructuary rights, the same piece of land cultivated by one person soon giving titles and yielding profits to many.<sup>9</sup> A singular and

important aspect of these real rights and interests was that they usually retained upon them marks of the conditions in which they had originated; the two main classes of relations being those that arose from the voluntary commendation of land by a free owner to a lord, and those that sprang from a grant by the lord to a tenant—the former the freer, and the latter the more precarious in character. And relations of these two classes again shaded into many grades of quality as they changed hands and were further parcelled, sublimated, or burdened with conditions. The shō of the 12th century that I defined at the outset was, therefore, characterized by an intricate plexus of real rights and obligations that had been and continued to be interwoven upon the lands comprised within the area.<sup>10</sup> These lands and legal relations were loosely held together under a seignior, the nature of whose authority varied greatly according as to whether he was a civil noble, a military leader, or a religious corporation.

The shō, at once like and unlike the manor as it was, became a primary cause of the feudal régime in Japan; for, when the warrior entered the shō and established himself as its “resident,” manager, or lord, it gradually in the course of a few centuries acquired characteristics of the regular fief. Of this important transformation of the shō into the fief, the exact process is still obscure.<sup>11</sup> I shall try to see if any light may be thrown on it by the history of a non-feudal shō. I now propose to take up a typical shō, not under a military chieftain, but belonging to a Buddhist monastery, and observe how it was born, how it grew and changed, and how it died as a shō as such, and, above all, analyze—tentatively, for the present—effects of the influences that the stress of the times during the feudal ages exerted upon the multiple tenures and institutions of the shō.

## I.

The historic monastery on Kō-ya San, or Mount Kōya, in central Japan, some 50 miles almost due south of Kyōto, the old imperial capital, was founded in 816 by the priest Kōbō. Kōbō,<sup>12</sup> of all the early apostles of Japan, has been the object of the most universal veneration by Buddhists of all classes, places, and denominations. As for the monastery that he founded, it is not too much to say that almost every great event in national history has found reverberation in the romantic career of this religious establishment. We are concerned in this study, however, only with the position of the institution as a seignior, for such it had become before the feudal rule was established in Japan in 1186, and such it continued to be throughout the feudal ages. The cartulary of the Kōya monastery contains more than three thousand documents<sup>13</sup> relating to the many shō



it has controlled that form an invaluable material for the study of the institutional and economic life of feudal Japan.

The early possessions of Kōya, despite its later pretensions, do not seem to have been extensive. Sixty years after its foundation the rice lands, recognized as its immune "temple-lands," appear to have aggregated but a little more than 100 acres.<sup>14</sup> To these were added other tracts through purchases, grants by imperial personages, donations by nobles, and commendations by private owners. These lands were, at the end of the twelfth century, all exempt from the miscellaneous impositions; some were free also from the chief land tax. Apart from their immunity, these shō and other domains of Kōya differed widely among themselves, in their composition of lands and tenures, in their private fiscal methods, and in the degree of control the monastery as seignior exercised upon them. From the standpoint of the later developments, a general distinction might conveniently be drawn between the shō that originated in grants or gifts from high personages<sup>15</sup> and those that arose from commendations made by private owners with reservations of their rights.<sup>16</sup> In the former shō the monastery could have a freer sway over their affairs than in the latter, for in these it had to observe its agreements with the original commendators. And it seemed to be the continued effort of Kōya to reduce to the level of the one class the more independent shō of the other.<sup>17</sup> To this second and more interesting class belonged the double shō of Kōno-Makuni—later triple<sup>18</sup> with the addition of Sarukawa—which will furnish the theme for this paper.

The Kōno-Makuni shō was situated several miles southwest of Mount Kōya on both sides of a road leading to the city of Wakayama. The shō originated, like most shō, with one or two pieces of waste land reclaimed, perhaps late in the ninth century, by a local resident of some note.<sup>19</sup> In 911, a part of the modest income from the estate was informally pledged to the monastery,<sup>20</sup> but the title over the land was so insecure that provincial authorities classed it as public and levied taxes upon it.<sup>21</sup> In order to receive the benefit of immunity, in 1143,<sup>22</sup> the owner of the tract, a descendant of the original reclainer, commended it to a court noble of the Fujiwara family at Kyōto, as the custom was, with the title of Possessor (*ryō-ke*),<sup>23</sup> with the understanding that the latter would himself commend the same land to the ex-emperor, Go-Toba, as Lord (*hon-shō*),<sup>23</sup> and that the first commander and his descendants in succession should serve as Managers (*adzukari-dokoro*) under the direction of the Possessor.<sup>22</sup> The Kōya monastery was to be remembered with an annual payment in rice<sup>22</sup> as a recompense for the religious service it should perform in behalf of the ex-emperor.<sup>24</sup> The place was now for the first time formally staked out as a shō, and a charter was issued from the ex-emperor's chamber summarizing the conditions and granting freedom from



the public land-tax and from the visitation of both local officials and monastic agents.<sup>22</sup> This is the birth of the double shō of Kōno-Makuni. It will be noted that, in spite of the creation of the titular Possessor, the real possessor and exploiter of the land was still the commender, who had reserved his place as hereditary Manager; in all probability he simply rendered a tribute to the noble Possessor, who may or may not in turn have given up a part of it to the nominal imperial Lord. As for the monastery, it was merely entitled to a fraction of the income of the shō, to which it was forbidden even to send a collector.

It could hardly be expected that Kōya would rest content with this meager lot. The monastery sought with some success to establish a direct contact with the inhabitants of the shō,<sup>25</sup> probably using as a lever its right to an annual tax, and also by appealing to its defunct title of 911 as a commendee.<sup>26</sup> Early in 1177, it seems to have succeeded in gaining by a characteristically roundabout way a promise from the Possessor of an additional annual due.<sup>27</sup> Nor was Kōya less alert to improve every opportunity to increase its claim upon the control of the affairs of the shō; and, as it happened, both the Possessor and the Manager, by ill-considered acts, played into the hands of the astute monastery. Especially the Manager, believing that he rightfully controlled the use of the land, commended the shō in some manner to another monastery,<sup>28</sup> and about 1190 with equal lack of thought, commended the shō in a vague title to Kōya.<sup>29</sup> This the latter pretended to believe to be the very managership of the shō; it acted according to that conviction, reducing the former Manager into the position of an agent.<sup>30</sup>

## II.

When a partial feudal rule was introduced into the governing machinery of Japan in 1186, Kōya promptly enlisted the good-will of the suzerain, Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, and secured from him an immunity of all its shō from a military surtax and from the interference of the new military constables and stewards.<sup>31</sup> These privileges were conceded by Yoritomo with the greater willingness, as it formed a part of his conservative policy, so far as was compatible with the real political power which he had won, to respect the class interests and proprietary rights that he found in entrenchment everywhere. And Kōya was one of the greatest landlords and one of the most formidable religious institutions in all Japan.

Perhaps the greatest gain for the monastery was the recognition it succeeded in winning from the new ruler of its alleged ancient territorial rights.<sup>32</sup> Kōya had for some time pretended—for the claim can be proven to be a pretension—and now pretended success-

fully, that at the founding of the monastery in 816 by Kōbō, the local deity yielded to him, and the imperial government also granted to him, 10,000 chō (nearly 30,000 acres) of land around the mountain.<sup>33</sup> This wide area, to which Kōya henceforth referred as its "ancient domain" (*kyū-ryō*),<sup>34</sup> would include the double shō of Kōno-Makuni<sup>35</sup> as well as many other districts;<sup>36</sup> and the claim furnished grounds for the extension, not only of the land of the various shō, but also of the power of the monastery as the dispenser of benefits. Within the rather indefinite borders of this territory Kōya seems to have been enabled to create or claim<sup>37</sup> lands and landed interests under its direct control,<sup>38</sup> in juxtaposition with freer tenures, and to try to assimilate the latter to the former.<sup>39</sup>

As regards the Kōno-Makuni shō, of which the monastery had already professed the managership, a fortunate event occurred in 1221 to enable it to make its control of its land and people more complete. The Fujiwara noble who still claimed the title of Possessor,<sup>40</sup> as well as the imperial Lord of the shō, were in that year involved in a plot to overthrow the feudal government and were defeated and exiled, and the titles seem to have lapsed. As the actual Lord<sup>41</sup> and as Possessor and Manager as well in name<sup>42</sup> as in reality, the monastery now had virtually no one over it and no other magnate eclipsing its power as the seignior of the shō; it had already begun to deal directly with the landholders of the shō, and now redoubled its effort, as will be seen later, to reduce its freer tenures to a greater dependence upon its will. There was henceforth little substantial difference in the character of the seigniorial control over them between granted shō and this shō, which had originated in commendations.<sup>43</sup>

It was also in this period that the neighboring district of Sarukawa was attached as a joint member to the double shō,<sup>44</sup> which appears in documents from the middle of the thirteenth century as the triple<sup>45</sup> Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa shō. The previous history of Sarukawa had been similar to that of most commended shō, having passed through the familiar stages of original cultivation by a local magnate,<sup>46</sup> hereditary possession by his children,<sup>47</sup> and commendation with reservation.<sup>48</sup>

We have so far discussed the progress of the control of the monastic seignior over the triple shō as a whole. This had come about simultaneously with the internal changes that occurred both in the tenures of the individual landholders in the shō and in the character of its administrative machinery. To these changes we shall now turn.

It will be remembered that the triple shō had originated, not in grants or gifts from high quarters, but in commendations with reservations, first by one owner of his land and then by others of theirs.

Many of these men and others of their class were of families whose members had for generations lived in the place,<sup>48</sup> owned lands,<sup>49</sup> carried arms and kept retainers,<sup>50</sup> even had served in Kyōto as minor officials and made influential connections at the capital,<sup>51</sup> and had generally established their prestige as local chiefs. When they commended their lands to a seignior, and perhaps even when they sold or mortgaged them among themselves, what was actually conveyed was often mere interests and profits; in these cases the lands themselves and their management—or “the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil,” to quote the Ricardian phrase—remained in reality in the hands of the former owners;<sup>52</sup> and these lands, as well as others that they still held in more complete titles, were transmitted by heredity or alienated with all the obligations that encumbered them.<sup>53</sup> These men were chief among the *jū-nin* (“residents”) or *hyaku-shō* (bearers of family names), and *ji-shu* (“landholders”),<sup>54</sup> who formed the backbone of the shō, supporting its life and bearing its burdens.<sup>55</sup> The titular masters of the shō had perforce to rely on the good faith and cooperation of these men, whether in the administration of its affairs<sup>56</sup> or in its defense<sup>57</sup> against aggressions from without, which were frequent.<sup>58</sup> Such was the condition in the middle of the twelfth century.

This state of things began to change gradually toward the close of the pre-feudal period, and then more rapidly after the beginning of the thirteenth century. First, we turn to the officials of the shō. The cartulary happens to contain nineteen oaths of fealty<sup>59</sup> sworn between 1271 and 1315 by the various officials of the triple shō that reveal conditions quite different from those that must have prevailed there even in 1221. It is true that the posts of these officials as the financial and police agents of the shō, held as they were by members of its representative families, were all hereditary<sup>60</sup> and regarded rather as profits than as functions, even women<sup>61</sup> being permitted to succeed to them. There now had appeared among the officials, however, a perceptible distinction between two classes, namely: the lower ones representing more closely the actual holders of lands,<sup>62</sup> and the higher ones who were in more direct contact with Kōya, and who perhaps were generally looked upon rather as servants of the monastery than as the landlords that their forefathers were and that some of them must still have been themselves.<sup>63</sup> The oaths given by the latter class of agents indicate that their position was distinctly more precarious than that of the former.<sup>64</sup> As a matter of fact the services of the higher agents were rewarded with grants of land or rice;<sup>65</sup> the more recalcitrant among them could be punished with summary dismissal and their hereditary rights as agents revoked.<sup>66</sup> And Kōya had already begun to employ agents appointed for the shō from among the inmates within its monastic walls.<sup>67</sup>



At the same time, the tenures of the plain holders of land (*ji-shu*) had also been modified.<sup>68</sup> (1) Though still hereditary and alienable,<sup>69</sup> they could now be confiscated and their holders banished for serious crimes,<sup>70</sup> and the landed interests wrested from them were granted by Kōya as seignior to others in less free tenures.<sup>71</sup> (2) It is significant that the so-called "name-lands" (*myō-den*), many of which had presumably been small allodial areas reclaimed by their owners,<sup>72</sup> are now seen in some instances to be grants from the seignior.<sup>73</sup> (3) From the last half of the thirteenth century, a remarkably widespread tendency is noticeable in all the Kōya shō, including the triple shō, of many of their constituent pieces of rice land that had still been held by residents to be acquired through purchase or mortgage by monks of the monastery, and then commended by them to Kōya<sup>74</sup>—"for the peace of the present," as they said, "and the happiness of the next life," or "for the extinction of the past, present, and future sins."<sup>75</sup> Apart from these pious formulas it is not clear what economic consideration had induced the monks so commonly to have recourse to these transactions, unless we assume that the commendation meant the surrender, in law, of the title over the land, but in fact only of a fraction of its profit; and that the commending monk lost through his act less in income than in the freedom of his tenure; in other words, he presumably enjoyed a major profit from the land which was thenceforth nominally a grant from the seignior.<sup>76</sup> At any rate, it is plain that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the tenures of land in the triple shō, like the rights of its agents, though still normally transferable by heredity and conveyance, had become partly dependent on the will of the seignior.

I infer that this change had resulted not only from the progress in the control of the shō by the monastery as lord that we saw taking place in the early feudal period, but also from general conditions of the age for which Kōya should not be held responsible. Among these may be mentioned the continued facility with which rights and interests relative to land could still be subdivided and transferred, causing the position of some descendants of the original holders and commanders of land to be generally weakened, and affording opportunities to the seignior to alter tenures.<sup>77</sup> Also the prevailing turbulence of the time, from which even the consecrated mountain was not free, compelled Kōya to require from chief members of its shō a more frequent and extensive service at arms<sup>78</sup> at the monastery than before; these added burdens, together with the increased financial obligations of the period, may have reacted unfavorably upon the condition of the landholder. If he had not yet been obliged to forsake land altogether and turn a mercenary warrior, he had been sorely tempted to



exchange some of his landed interests either for lower tenures or for ready cash.<sup>79</sup>

Side by side with the gradual alteration of the status of the "landholder" (*ji-shu*), we begin to observe that the position of the "cultivator" (*saku-nin*) of the soil also was slowly changing, though the full meaning of both facts does not become obvious until we reach the end of the next period.

The history of the status of the Japanese agricultural laborer during the feudal ages would seem to afford a difficult but fruitful field of study. Unfortunately, his position during the first feudal period is extremely obscure.<sup>80</sup> But was the so-called "cultivator" a laborer? The question would seem to involve two points, his work and his status. First, as regards his work: Were the "cultivators" actually tillers of the soil? Whatever their original condition,<sup>81</sup> some of them were, even in the early twelfth century, hardly real toilers of the glebe;<sup>82</sup> in the first feudal ages, at least those "cultivators" whom we find bearing family names, holding cultivatorships of several pieces of land, and even appearing at the same time with the title of "landholders" of these and other pieces,<sup>83</sup> would seem themselves to have been employers of men.<sup>84</sup> We may safely infer that, while some "cultivators" were tillers, others were holders of the so-called "right of cultivation" (*saku-shiki*)—another class of real rights that were sources of profits, and were hereditary, divisible, and transferable.<sup>85</sup> Next, as regards the status of the "cultivator": In the early feudal period, he held his right under some form of control of the "landholder," so that when the land changed hands, the "cultivator's" right was liable to lapse.<sup>86</sup> Soon, however, we find his position tending to become securer and less dependent.<sup>87</sup> At least in the triple shō, the "cultivators" appear even to have been placed partially under direct control of monastic agents, apparently paying dues to them<sup>88</sup> as well as to the "landholders"<sup>89</sup> of whom they held their tenures. From the early 14th century, the name of the "cultivator" is usually attached when a piece of land is mentioned, but that of the holder no longer appears as a rule; or sometimes the latter's place is taken by a religious service or some other impersonal matter for which proceeds from the land were devoted.<sup>90</sup> It even occurs that personal names are given with pieces of land without specification either as "landlords" or as "cultivators,"<sup>91</sup> leaving one to imagine that they may possibly have represented "cultivators" that were virtually "landholders." However that may be, it is not too much to conclude that, at the end of the first feudal period, at least some of the "cultivators" were not employed tillers, still less serfs, but men who derived the fruit of the soil, and, in the last analysis, bore the whole burden of the dues from it; they had advanced halfway

toward the position that the "landholders" had occupied. Nor is this strange when we admit that the original distinction between the "cultivator" and the "landholder" must have meant primarily a differentiation of rights and profits (*shiki*) of land, rather than of personal status or even of person, and also remember that these rights and profits were in a state of flux.

To recapitulate at this point: At the close of the first period of feudal history, the "landholders" and the "cultivators" were drifting toward each other in cross currents of social adjustment, many of the former class slowly losing the freedom of tenure and many of the latter as slowly gaining the real possession of the soil. It is needless to repeat here that in this evolution at least the lowering of the status of the "landholder," if not the rise of the "cultivator," had been fostered by the seignior for his own interest; he likewise had been engaged in an effort to reduce officials of the *shō* to greater subserviency. The next feudal period of Japan opened in the triple *shō* in the midst of this general movement, and, as we shall see, gave it a stronger impetus and carried it to its consequences.

### III.

From the second quarter of the fourteenth century Japan entered upon dark ages of a prolonged civil strife and practical anarchy lasting till the end of the sixteenth century. If we leave Kōya for a moment and take a survey of the feudal Japan as a whole, we shall find that, amid the utmost decentralization that ensued, the period witnessed certain momentous changes taking place as if by concert in the institutional life of the whole country. Among these the most important for our present study are two double processes, one of them begun earlier and now completed, and the other noticeable from the latter half of this period and matured only after 1600.

The first of these double movements may be characterized as the consummation of the feudalization both of the administrative agency and of the land tenure of Japan. The evolution was necessarily long and multifarious, and is still largely obscure, but the results stand out in bold outlines. We may well say that the governmental apparatus was at last completely feudalized when, as we find in 1600, all the *shō* under civil control<sup>92</sup> and all the public offices of civil origin in the provinces<sup>93</sup> had been annexed by groups of warriors held together by ties of vassalage. Similarly, it is just to say that land tenure was finally feudalized when the conquering war lord assumed a free disposition of the territory he had won at the point of his sword, and reduced the multiple tenures he had found therein into a nearly uniform tenure—a tenure which, though normally capable of heredity and subinfeudation, was, under his dictatorial control,

subject to a reinvestiture at succession and liable to confiscation, and entailed upon its tenants a definite personal service in arms toward him.<sup>94</sup> The peculiarly complex shō, such as we found in the twelfth century, was no more,<sup>95</sup> at least under military control; the shō had been converted into a fief.

The year 1600 saw this double transformation practically finished; it witnessed another twofold movement already begun but still incomplete. This was, in one aspect, a growing differentiation between the military and the argicultural classes, and in another an increasing tendency among the latter to reverse the earlier custom of subdividing landed rights and interests (*shiki*) and to unify them once more with land itself. The growth of a class of professional warriors, many of whom now lived near the castles of the lords and received rice or money instead of land for the service they offered, and the consequent partial separation of arms from land<sup>96</sup>—these phenomena had resulted from the continued and increasingly better organized warfare<sup>97</sup> that had characterized the intervening period. The peasants in the field on their part were becoming at once more unprotected, because unarmed, and freer in status and in feeling, because more independent of immediate military control, than in the earlier period;<sup>98</sup> these conditions tended to make the ambitious lord regard the peasantry as an object of paternal solicitude, to be at once protected and feared.<sup>99</sup> And the improving position of the peasant was coincident with the progressive unification of real rights and land, a tendency which he embraced and nursed. Scarcely did the seignior imagine himself to have succeeded in reducing the "landholder" into a dependent tenant,<sup>98</sup> when the latter found himself on the road to become the practical owner of the land which, under the name of a grant by favor, he in fact exploited and passed on to his heir.<sup>99</sup>

It may be presumed that these great social changes, whatever their causes and their exact processes, must have reacted upon <sup>one</sup> another. The increasing reunion of land and landed interests must have tended to strengthen the position of the peasant; and that position in turn must have been influenced by his growing freedom from the proximity of warriors; while the partial liberation of the warrior himself from the cares of economic production must have facilitated the feudalization of the governing machinery of the domains under armed control. Nor might we suppose that the simplification of the shō and its transformation into the fief were completed without an impetus received both from the ascendancy of the military nobility over the civil, on the one hand, and, on the other, from the consolidation of various interests of land in the hands of its holder. We shall find in the next period that these changes not only had together brought the feudal development to its culmination, but also had



created forces tending to undermine the feudal structure of society. We must first observe how the movements to which we have alluded were reflected in the triple shō during the second period of Japanese feudal history.

It was inevitable that the landed interests of the Kōya monastery during the period of general commotion should, as they did, suffer many alterations and encroachments;<sup>100</sup> but, thanks to their religious and immune character, the monastic shō, unlike the civil shō, held their own, on the whole, recovering many of their losses and weathering the storm as best they could. If the truth must be told, both the shō and the monastery on the mountain were armed not altogether inadequately and not always for purely defensive ends.<sup>101</sup> What must we think when we are told that about 1580 Kōya held possessions much more extensive than it ever had or has held,<sup>102</sup> and that its warriors defied and for a time defeated an army of the suzerain of half feudal Japan?<sup>103</sup>

As regards our triple shō, the documents relative to its changes in this period are regrettably few, but, along with the examples of other monastic domains, give us a sufficient ground to infer that much of the social evolution enacted abroad repeated itself here.

The historic effort of the monastery to increase its seigniorial control over the various tenures and tenants of the shō seems now to have been well nigh consummated. At last all the officials of the shō were treated by Kōya as employed agents at once hereditary and precarious,<sup>104</sup> rather than as representatives of the peasants.<sup>105</sup> Even when warriors had encroached upon the shō and wrung from the monastery a grudging recognition for a time as petty seigniors,<sup>106</sup> Kōya recovered its control of the affected districts at the first opportunity, and thereafter treated the intruders who remained as dependent agents.<sup>107</sup> The "name-lands" (*myō-den*) had changed hands, and many of them had been annexed by Kōya, and granted to its agents. The title "name-[land] holder" (*myō-shu*) had been given to minor officials of the shō who were not always actual holders of this species of land.<sup>108</sup> In many, perhaps in all, instances the very peasants were regarded as holders of granted titles; that is, as precarious though hereditary.<sup>109</sup>

These marks of the added authority which Kōya as seignior thought to have gained were, however, offset by more substantial changes that had been silently taking place from below. The unification of land and landed interests, to which I have alluded in regard to the feudal domains, manifested itself in Kōya shō, as perhaps in other parts of Japan, in a signal progress of the equalization of status between "landholders" and "cultivators" that had begun earlier. This social evolution is epitomized in certain historic terms that designated the changing social classes. The old term *hyaku-*



*shō*<sup>109</sup> (bearers of family names), which represented, in ancient times, free taxable citizens,<sup>110</sup> but, in the twelfth to early fourteenth century, the class of landholders, including the local chiefs upon whom devolved the duty of defending the shō and the monastery, and assisting in the administration of the former,<sup>111</sup> was now seen again to be changing its meaning. In the period of civil war the term was beginning to be applied, as it invariably was after 1600, to peasants pure and simple, dissociated from armed service and depending upon the seignior and his agents for sheer protection and no longer bearing even family names.<sup>112</sup> At the same time both the terms "landholder" and "cultivator" had also changed their signification. The landholder (now the same characters *ji-shu* being pronounced *ji-nushi*) was a *hyaku-shō* possessing a free title over plots of land, which were no longer burdened with subtle division of rights and relations, and paying regular dues upon them; he had become, all but in name, a plain landowner. The term "cultivator" (*saku-nin*) denoted more and more commonly a relatively small<sup>113</sup> class of free tenants who rented lands owned by others and paid to them the economic rent;<sup>114</sup> they appear neither as the institutional descendants of the old "cultivators" nor as serfs, but rather as regular tenant farmers such as would come into being without special antecedents. I do not forget that neither the old *hyaku-shō* nor the old "cultivators" had been a simple class, but each had comprised several grades of status;<sup>115</sup> what seems likely is that the grades in each class had now drifted apart, and some of the former two classes coalesced in a new social alignment. In other words, it is probable that if some of the "cultivators" had remained as or become free tenants others had risen to the status of the better *hyaku-shō*; the "landholders" were likewise differentiated between those who had been joined by the risen "cultivators," no longer so designated, and those that had turned professional warriors or their retainers, they either remaining in the shō, boasting their family names and living the lives of petty lords,<sup>112</sup> or perhaps more frequently toward the end of the period having left the soil and attached themselves to barons. The old terminology persisted but represented changed realities. The new composite *hyaku-shō*, including peasant proprietors and tenants, would seem to have formed the bulk of the new rural class, with the absent seignior above and the hired farm hands<sup>116</sup> below them. The distinction between the old "cultivator" and the old "landholder,"<sup>117</sup> like the earlier difference between the relatively free commender and the relatively precarious grantee, and like the shō itself whose inhabitants they all had been, had passed into history.

As we complete our survey of the second feudal period, let us ask ourselves, How much did the changes in the shō reflect those of the

feudal Japan to which we referred? What was common to both and what was the difference between them? These questions are elusive. We may say that the increased seigniorial control, on the one hand, and the new social alignment, on the other, were due to the natural effort made by the monastery and by the peasants to advance their respective interest in the midst of the general tendencies in which the whole of Japan had been involved; namely, the separation of arms from land and the coming together of the landed interests that had ramified. Behind these tendencies we can not for the present try to penetrate. While we grant to this extent the community of institutional life between our shō and the outside world, we must also admit that there was an important difference between them: the Kōya shō, religious and not civil in character as it was, escaped a military conquest and so escaped a feudalization of its administrative organs; again, the shō, having never been wholly<sup>118</sup> annexed by a great baron or brought into a feudal relation with him, was never converted into a fief in the technical sense. Only the general simplification of its tenures that the monastery seemed to have effected may be said to connote a sufficient will on the part of the seignior that, had he been a military lord thrown in the vortex of a struggle for ascendancy, would have turned the shō into a fief; it was only the religious character of the seignior that prevented that outcome. It might, therefore, be said that the very failure of the shō to be feudalized indicates the chief cause of the success of that development in the military domains; that is, the dictatorial power of the war lord who took land with one hand and gave it with the other. Finally, we suggest that the common nature of the influences to which the triple shō and the military fiefs were exposed in this period is further demonstrated by the common destiny which, as we shall see, overtook them all in the next period.

#### IV.

The third and last period of Japan's feudal history—1600-1868—may be dismissed with a few words. It will be remembered that during the preceding centuries the feudalization of the local Government and the land tenure of Japan as a whole was completed, and the separation of land and arms and the reunion of land and landed interests began. A little reflection will show that, if these movements operating together carried to its consummation the feudal organization of Japanese society, they would, as they did, also create conditions subversive of it; for no régime could remain purely feudal, if its peasants were too free, and if too many of its warriors were detached from land. And yet these conditions were not only fully recognized, but also greatly extended, in the remarkable government



that the Tokugawa suzerains erected in the early seventeenth century; they, in their own domains, deliberately increased the number of landless, stipendiary warriors, and gave a generous measure of self-government to the peasant communities, making them the foundation of the economic and financial life of the new régime. And the example was largely copied by the barons in their respective domains. Moreover, the suzerain, having at last unified all Japan torn for centuries by civil war, extended to his rule of the whole the principles of feudal government and feudal land tenure that had been established separately in its parts; he regarded the entire realm as a vast domain, as it were, with its control centralized as far as was practicable in his council at Edo; carved the area into feudatories, many of them arbitrarily, and assigned them, under the name *han*,<sup>119</sup> to his barons as fiefs held of him. The result was a régime in which were combined and balanced with great care both feudal and non-feudal elements of society, and centralizing and decentralizing tendencies and forces of government. This is the régime that, despite the comparative inferiority of its later rulers, held sway over Japan till 1867.

We finally return to the Kōya shō to observe its institutional position in this last of the feudal periods. We shall not linger to tell how the tyrant Hideyoshi had crushed for all time, as it proved, the armed power of the monastery and curtailed its landed possessions.<sup>120</sup> Entering the new era in this attenuated state, the Kōya monastery was regarded by the Tokugawa suzerain virtually as on a par with the barons, and its domains were collectively treated as a fief<sup>121</sup> held of him. As a species of baron, Kōya gave its fealty to the successive suzerains at Edo and rendered them annual tributes. As a fief, the Kōya domains were formally reinvested to the monastery by each suzerain at his accession to power.<sup>122</sup> In a word, Kōya was autonomous in the administration of its own affairs, but dependent upon Tokugawa as overlord. Interesting as this period is, therefore, it is less significant for our study than the preceding ages. The triple shō of Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa was no longer triple, but was separated into four mutually unrelated shō with shifted boundaries; nor was each of the four shō, though still retaining that name, anything more than a collective name of units called *mura*, which were self-governing communities of *hyakushō*,<sup>123</sup> comprising no "name-lands," no fortresses, and no warriors rendering military service. The life of the district as a real shō had long ceased to be; what had survived was its name retained for an altogether altered institution.

<sup>1</sup> F. Brinkley, "A History of the Japanese People," New York and London, 1915, pp. 251-252, 270. See also James Murdock, "A History of Japan," Tokyo, 1910, I, 213, 228, ff.

<sup>2</sup>This contrast is drawn between the full-grown manor and shō, both, say, of the twelfth century. It need not be noted that in the ninth and tenth centuries there were in southern France domains in which holdings were irregular and, with their tenants' houses, isolated and scattered over the estate. See Seignobos's chapter, "Le régime féodal," in Lavissee and Rambaud's "Histoire générale," II, 5.

<sup>3</sup>For a fuller discussion, the reader is referred to my article, "The Origin of the Feudal Land Tenure in Japan," in the American Historical Review for October, 1914 (XX, no. 1), pp. 1-23.

<sup>4</sup>When there are both pasture and rice land, a communal form of management which is expedient for the pasture may tend to retard the development of individual ownership even in the rice fields, as seems to be the case in some parts of Java. In Japan, on the contrary, pasture has not existed within historic times; the race has not depended on sheep and cattle for material for clothing and food, cotton and grass cloths being used for raiment, and the numerous streams and the north ocean currents supplying an abundance of fish; bulls and cows used in husbandry have been few, and, though peasants have commonly kept horses, they as a rule were not left in the field to graze, but kept in stables while unemployed; there they were made to tread grass into manure; sufficient fodder was found by the wayside or in non-arable lands. This last condition precluded the need of reserving extensive meadows.

The practical absence of meadows and pastures has formed one of the great peculiarities of Japanese economic life and has produced far-reaching results. Not only was the development of individual ownership of rice land, and then of other kinds of lands, thereby stimulated, but also the people were enabled to utilize a relatively greater part of the arable land for cultivation, and to maintain a larger population than would be possible in a half-farming and half-grazing country. Minor yet important effects might be traced in a variety of ways.

<sup>5</sup>The predominant place occupied by the rice culture in Japan's agriculture constitutes its second chief characteristic. Its effects on the institutional life of the nation can hardly be exaggerated; it at least fashioned the life of the shō from its very birth and in all its ramifications. These and other effects would merit a careful analysis. Among the minor effects I may refer to the fact that, because of the use of rice, both as the staple food and as the material for brewing *saké*, there has been no necessity of reserving vineyards; also, rice being used in grain, the mill has not played in Japanese social history the part it has in Europe.

<sup>6</sup>About the irrigation and the intensive nature of the rice culture, see the article "Influence of geographical conditions upon Japanese agriculture," by Miss E. C. Semple, in the Geographical Journal for December, 1912.

<sup>7</sup>If we bear in mind the intensive nature of the cultivation of rice in irrigable lowlands and the comparatively high value of the product, and also remember the absence of pastures and meadows, we shall be able to see why the relatively small area of the arable land in Japan admitted a relatively dense population; we may also understand why rice fields were, and needed to be, small.

It is not unlikely that during the feudal ages the general tendency with rice fields was to become smaller, both for more effective culture and for readier division of rights. However that may be, the very first fields must have been diminutive enough. The following instances are taken from among the shō belonging to the monastery of Mount Kōya. In 1136, 78 plots showed an average of 1½ acres; in 1273, 18 plots averaged 0.27 acre; and in 1424, 1020 plots averaged 0.23 acre. In the last instances, plots larger than 0.6 acre and those smaller than 0.05 acre were few, the large majority, 896 plots, being between the two. Kō-ya san mon-zho, III, 358-386, V, 356-389, 486-8. It will probably be possible some day to show that the diminutive size of rice fields in Japan was responsible for many of the characteristics of the history of the shō.

<sup>8</sup>Some charters date as early as 950. Most early charters seem to have been issued by the provincial, not the imperial, government. See Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 270-299.

<sup>9</sup>The division of land itself (shita-ji, as it would be called in old Japanese), rather than of interests and rights relative to land (shiki), practised in the peasant holdings in medieval France, is considered by Seignobos as one of the causes of their consisting in narrow strips. Lavissee and Rambaud, op. cit., II, 8.

<sup>10</sup>That a resident of one shō could have a right over a piece of land in another shō and cultivate it; the nonresident holder or cultivator was obliged to pay his usual dues to the shō in which he exercised his rights. Kō-ya san mon-zho, I, 508.

<sup>11</sup>A Japanese critic of the article mentioned in note 3 above was oblivious of the fundamental difference between the shō and the fief and other institutional problems of prime importance. See Shi-gaku zasshi, XXVI, 378-379; my reply, *ibid.*, 776-780.

<sup>12</sup>Kōbō (posthumous name of Kūkai), 774-835, on his return from China in 807, established the mystic ritualism of Shingon Buddhism. The imposing, mysterious performances of the sect, reinforced, as they were, by the priest's extraordinary versatility



and winsome character, fascinated and captivated the Court. He also entered deeply into the hearts of the common people of all subsequent ages through his many travels, his artistic activity, and his founding of the Kōya monastery, which has been a Mecca of Buddhist pilgrimage.

<sup>13</sup> Published between 1904 and 1907 under the title, *Kō ya san mon zho* (hereinafter abbreviated as *Koya*), 8 vols., in the great series *Dai Ni-hon ko-mon zho*, edited by the Historiographic Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo. I suspect that the monastery must possess unpublished documents not reproduced in this series. The *Ki-i no kuni zoku fū-do ki* (hereinafter abbreviated as *Ki*), compiled c. 1808-1839 by Nida Yoshifuru and others in 192 chapters (printed in five large volumes in 1910-1911) contains some hundreds of documents of the Kōya shō not included in the published cartulary. The documents relating strictly to the triple shō alone in these two works number about 130.

<sup>14</sup> *San-dai zhitsu-roku*, chap. 29 (*Koku-shi tai-kei*, IV, 432).

<sup>15</sup> Such as the Mandokoro, Arakawa, and Minabe shō.

<sup>16</sup> Such as parts of the Adegawa shō and of our triple shō.

<sup>17</sup> I think that this theory should explain many an act of the monastery towards its freer shō. Its powers as seignior were specially ample in the granted Mandokoro shō, already in 1125 (see *Koya*, VII, 266-268), which must have served as a model in the treatment of the other shō. See notes 26, 39, and 43 below.

<sup>18</sup> The exact size of the triple shō, which must have continued to increase even after the annexation of Sarukawa in the thirteenth century, is stated nowhere in the documents. When we remember that the life of a shō as a terrain was built upon its cultivated area, it is not strange that its value should usually be expressed, as it was, in terms of its productivity measured in rice, not of its lineal extent. About 1830, when the extent of what had before been the triple shō may be presumed to have reached its utmost, the total productivity of all kinds of tilled land comprised in this area was rated as 5,027 koku (about 25,000 bushels) of hulled rice, produced by 5,413 members of 1,245 families. Taking the average yield of a shō as 8 koku (or about 15 bushels per acre), 5,027 koku would represent a total of 628 shō (about 1,550 acres), which should be regarded as a very rough estimate for a very late date.

Some idea of the range of the sizes of early shō may be gained from the following data from the domains of the temple at Iwashimidzu. In 1072, of the 34 shō that were enumerated, the smallest included about 20 acres of tilled area, and the largest about 100 acres. Larger shō seem to have contained waste or wooded land, and therefore can not be used for comparison. *Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, I, 270-299. In an undated list of 104 shō in Kyūshū, the smallest measured 15 acres, and there was another less than 30 acres; the largest had more than 2,400 acres, which was exceptional, the second covering but 390 acres; and there were two more shō that comprised 300 acres each. (*Ibid.*, II, 141-147.)

To return to the triple shō, each of its three component shō seems always to have had its administrative offices at the "shō-house" (corresponding to the French intendant's house or the German *Frohnhof*), but at no time was there any central bureau for the triple district as a whole.

The triple shō happened to possess a central market place in Kōno, at least since the end of the thirteenth century (*Koya*, IV, 636), where later regular fairs occurred six times annually. Kōno was otherwise most populous, producing cotton and paper besides rice; Makuni was probably the most sterile. Economically, the triple shō was hardly self-sufficient, and the market served as a distributing center not only for this but also for neighboring shō.

Each part of the triple shō consisted of rural districts which were called *mura*, at least in the third feudal period, some 40 in all, about 1830. Each *mura*, supported Shintō and Buddhist shrines and temples, their total number for the entire region, about 1830, being 70 ordinary and 140 smaller ones for a population of 5,400. Each shō had its chief shrine and temple. The burden of these religious institutions was less formidable than their number would lead us to suppose, for most of them were tiny shrines by the wayside or on hilltops, unattended by priests, and costing hardly anything for maintenance. The annual festivals at these houses, not only in the triple shō, but in all districts in rural Japan, were days of gathering and diversion that played an important part in the social life of the people.

There were, in accordance with the custom of the time, public bathhouses. They are seen as early as 1271. *Koya*, I, 506, VII, 194.

See *Ki*, I, 784-786, 823-827, 846-865.

<sup>19</sup> Of the Osa (or Naga?) family, who claimed relation to the great Taira clan. See *Ki*, V, 243. Members of this family are seen among chief residents and officers of the shō, at least till the early fourteenth century. *Koya*, VII, 197, 229, 233, 237-240, etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Ki*, V, 243. Also *Koya*, VII, 229.

<sup>21</sup> Koya, VII, 230.

<sup>22</sup> All these conditions are explicitly stated in the ex-Emperor's charter establishing the shō in 1143; Koya, VII, 229-232. This is one of the most complete specimens of charters of this class.

<sup>23</sup> The titles ryō-ke and adzukurī-dakoro are explicit in the charter, but that of hon-shō is inferential.

<sup>24</sup> Koya, VIII, 384.

<sup>25</sup> In 1164, 1177, 1179, etc., Koya, VII, 179, 232, 235-236, etc.

<sup>26</sup> Probably also by applying to this commended shō the example of the granted Mando-koro shō, over whose men Kōya had been exercising a direct control. See Koya, II, 546-558, VII, 266-268.

<sup>27</sup> Koya, VII, 178.

<sup>28</sup> In 1175, to the monastery on Mount Yoshino, Koya, VII, 234, a good example of a letter of commendation. Yoshino did not succeed in tightening its hold upon the shō, and its influence was in the course of a few years completely overshadowed by that of Kōya.

<sup>29</sup> This is inferred from documents about 1176 and of 1199. Koya, I, 581, VII, 236-237. The letter of commendation has not been preserved.

<sup>30</sup> See Note 19, above.

<sup>31</sup> Ki, V, 124, 128, 135 (cited in a document of 1333); Adzuma-kagami, bk. 7, edition Kikkawa, I, 161; Koya, I, 369, VII, 181-182, VIII, 23-24.

<sup>32</sup> In 1184, Adzuma-kagami, bk. 3, edition Kikkawa, I, 90-91; Koya, I, 449.

<sup>33</sup> The sole evidence for these claims that Kōya could advance was an account of the founding of the monastery and instructions to the disciples said to be autographic compilations made in 834 by the founder, Kōbō (Ki, V, 113-115; Kō-bō dai-shi zen-shū, I, 769-780), but their authenticity, though not the veracity of Kōbō, was questioned even by the pious imperial court, in 1219 and 1334 (see Ki, V, 46, 136). The very improbability of some of the place names and of the stories of the deity and the Emperor Ōjin is apparent. The documents of 740 and 816, that are often adduced to support the claims, exist only in alleged citations in the account of 834, referred to above. If the official grant of 816 were genuine, the possessions of Kōya in 876 could not be so small as they were (see Note 14, above); nor could the monastery so completely forget, as it did, its claims till the latter part of the twelfth century. See next note.

<sup>34</sup> I have not yet discovered any authentic document earlier than 1177 (Koya, VII, 178) in which Kōya appealed to its "ancient domain." The one dated early in 1048 (Ki, V, 269) I regard as spurious. From the end of the twelfth century, however, appeals are common (e. g., in 1199: Koya, VII, 236; in 1218: Ki, V, 119; etc.). Between 1331 and 1354 Kōya's title over it was repeatedly confirmed by the civil and feudal governments (ibid., 136-140); in 1584, by the suzerain Hideyoshi (ibid., 146).

<sup>35</sup> Documents of 1199, Koya, VII, 236-240; of 1221, ibid., I, 292; Ki, V, 128; and of 1280, Koya, VII, 259.

<sup>36</sup> A list in 1285 of the districts included in the "ancient domain" gives 34, of which the triple shō is counted as three. Ki, V, 130-131.

<sup>37</sup> Koya, VIII, 393-396; Ki, V, 119.

<sup>38</sup> Direct control over a piece of land was designated as ichi-yen chi-gyō (i. e., complete control). This has been erroneously identified by some Japanese scholars with the possession of shita-ji (i. e., the soil). The latter was the actual use and enjoyment of soil, while the former apparently meant a complete right over the dues from the land, which was used by the tenants paying the dues; this point is inferred from the fact that a grant in 1270 of a half of an ichi-yen chi-gyō in the triple shō was in reality a cession of one-half of the taxes of the district. Koya, VII, 198, 259; cf. 246, 253, VIII, 128, 130.

<sup>39</sup> To cite instances only within the triple shō. An entire mura in Makuni, which had not been commended, was given in fief by Kōya to a body of religious servants, Koya, I, 501. Ogawa and Saimo mura were considered as "land of ichi-yen chi-gyō" by Kōya (Ki, V, 48); it commanded their inhabitants to swear fealty to itself (Koya, VII, 185), and allowed monastic servants to settle here, who were naturally under its direct control. Ibid., VII, 247.

<sup>40</sup> Despite the transfer of the title sometime before 1183 to the abbot of the Takavo monastery, and despite the lapse of the title in 1199 occasioned by his fall. Ki, V, 124; Koya, VII, 236.

<sup>41</sup> Residents of the shō so styled Kōya in 1199. Koya, VII, 236. In 1221, the fallen ex-emperor's family exercised a shadowy control over the use of the income of the shō (ibid., I, 294; VIII, 387), but even that soon passed away. In fact, in the same year, the monastic lordship of the shō was recognized by the imperial government. Ibid., I, 291.



<sup>42</sup> An imperial order of 1221 and a feudal order of 1227. Koya, I, 291-292, 295; VII, 253.

<sup>43</sup> The immunity from the visitation of feudal stewards (*ji-tō*) was claimed and granted in 1228 for the triple shō, as for other shō of Kōya. Koya, VII, 181-182, 253. In 1271 officers of the same shō were made to swear, among other things, that they would, as in other monastic shō, resist the intrusion of the military constable's (*shu-go*) agents. *Ibid.*, I, 507. When the shu-go demanded the delivery of incendiaries resident in Makuni, the order was not complied with. *Ibid.*, VII, 224.

<sup>44</sup> The date of the commendation of Sarukawa can not be determined. See the next note.

<sup>45</sup> Although the term "triple shō" (*san ga shō*) is not met with in the documents before 1276 (Koya, VII, 187-192), the reality of the grouping of the three shō as a composite one may be traced back at least to 1254. *Ibid.*, I, 217-220; VI, 308-309. Later use of the term is common (e. g., 1425; *ibid.*, IV, 445).

As a matter of fact, the word shō is often used carelessly even for parts of regular shō, a fact that betrays the private origin of this institution; e. g., Ishibashiri mura, which appears in 1294 as a shō (*ibid.*, IV, 636), and again a mura in 1303 (VII, 254), and Ogawa and Saime mura, called a shō in 1333 (VII, 246, 253); the latter becomes a real shō only later in the 14th century (I, 410).

<sup>46</sup> In 947 by a Kunimagi. *Ki*, I, 863.

<sup>47</sup> There is a letter of conveyance from father to son, dated 1025. *Ki*, I, 863. The Kunimagi appear in the triple shō among its chief holders till the end of twelfth century. Koya, VII, 233, 238-239. The Sarukawa family, whose names occur as commendors as late as the fourteenth century, may be of the same blood. Koya, II, 226; VIII, 483.

<sup>48</sup> The personal names of those landholders in the middle of the twelfth century who had not assumed Buddhist names (Koya, III, 366-386) betray the gentility of their owners. When their family names, too, are given, the aristocratic origin of many of them is unmistakable. *Ibid.*, I, 217-220; VI, 308-309; VII, 233, 237-240; *Ki*, V, 43. A list of 1185 for Mandokoro shō gives 288 names, of which 94 bore Buddhist names and 194 belonged to 53 families, including the most illustrious in history. Koya, II, 547-559. The presence in the triple shō of some of these families may be traced for centuries; some in the thirteenth century had so far identified their interest with the districts in which they lived as to have taken the names of the latter as names of their own branches of the larger families. E. g., *ibid.*, I, 220; II, 226; III, 538-539, etc.

It is quite likely that the practice which became notable in later ages among local warriors of assuming noble descent on slight or no grounds may already have begun in this period. It would, however, be strange if many of the claims for high birth were not still well founded, for older official records abound with instances of persons of imperial or noble ancestry who had settled in the provinces. As a matter of fact, these persons of real or pretended nobility were to be found among chief residents in all parts of Japan, and constituted a main source of the feudal warriors.

<sup>49</sup> Acts of bequeathing "private estates in hereditary succession" (*sen-zo sō-den no shi-ryō*) by these men are frequently met with. *Ki*, I, 863; Koya, III, 556; etc. Though usually the holdings, specially of rice land, were small (e. g., in 1218 rice land held by 108 men in Ōta shō averaging less than 5 acres, Koya, VIII, 592-597), every list contains larger holders; in 1164 the largest among the 46 men that are mentioned being 45 acres of mulberry fields in 46 plots, and in 1218 a tenant of 41 acres of rice fields being first among 108 holders. *Ibid.*, and III, 366-386. About 1090 a resident of Mandokoro controlled some 250 acres (VII, 267), probably inclusive of uncultivated land. It would be impossible, as said a proprietor in 1064, properly to manage a large holding, when it was in actual possession, without dependent laborers; he would rather commend it to a seignior (*Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, I, 299). Cf. Note 116 below.

<sup>50</sup> Most of the men, including even the secular shavelings (*nyū-dō*) that are referred to in note 48 above, seem at least to have been capable of bearing arms, and the dependent folk suggested in note 49 were in times of need followers in arms (e. g., Koya, I, 501-502; III, 660; IV, 636). The general social unrest of the period had made this condition natural. These men were as much to be feared as occasional disturbers of peace, in frequent collusion with lawless elements in neighboring shō (I, 291; IV, 657; V, 464; VII, 184-186; etc.), as they were to be relied upon by the monastic seignior as the bulwark of the shō against uprising or invasion (II, 546). See also note 57 below.

<sup>51</sup> About 1269 two Miyayoshi brothers, presumably of the triple shō, whose titles indicate that they had been guardsmen at Kyōto, led an invasion into a Kōya estate in the interest of another religious seignior, and went to the capital in order to appeal for aid to their powerful acquaintances there. Koya, IV, 657; VII, 185. About the same time a Fujiwara, residing in Makuni, at the request of officers of the shō, car-

ried out with success a difficult litigation at Kyōto with the imperial and feudal authorities. VII, 250-251, 254-255. These instances may be multiplied.

<sup>52</sup> It has been shown in the text how our very shō originated in a commendation in 1143, made by an owner who thenceforth reserved for his family the hereditary right of possession and management, and with what little scruple his descendants commended similar rights of the same land to others. A commendation of 1325 by a priest in the remote Awa is typical: A piece of land situated in Makuni itself, that is, part of the triple shō of which Kōya had long been seignior, had been bought by this stranger, and what he now gave up to the monastery was in reality a half of his income from the land. Koya, I, 192-193. The possessor of another estate in the same Makuni commended it to a Shintō temple which was, it is true, allied with the monastery; here too, merely an interest was yielded, while the soil itself was passed from father to son in the commendator's family and even sold to others. III, 556; VII, 183. Such were usual processes with commended lands.

Sales, especially sales "for all time" (yei-dai or yei-nen), usually involved actual conveyances of the use of the soil, but it is doubtful whether this was true in all cases; at least it is a plain fact that sometimes certain rights or interests were explicitly reserved by the seller. III, 543, 608, 610.

<sup>53</sup> It may be readily inferred that there could exist no piece of land in any shō that was not thus encumbered; and the encumbrances were often many, and usually much varied in the same district. Of this variety, one immediate cause was the custom which was increasingly prevalent of assigning definite pieces for the maintenance of individual officials, Kōya priests, and religious houses and services. For the twelfth century, Koya, V, 651, 655; VIII, 409-414; for the thirteenth, *ibid.*, IV, 352-356.

That conveyances necessarily carried these encumbrances needs no explanation. Instances are too many to be cited, e. g., *ibid.*, VII, 235, 183; VI, 324, and III, 447, 500; VI, 283, etc. These accompanying conditions naturally affected the price of land. E. g., the last references in note 52 show how the price of the same piece changed as its conditions altered.

<sup>54</sup> That jū-nin and hyaku-shō were once practically identical may be gathered by comparing documents of 1164 and 1199 (Koya, VII, 233, 237-240), both giving the names of chief residents of Kōno. (Cf. the list of hyaku-shō in Mandokoro shō in 1185; *ibid.*, II, 547-559.) The word yō-nin (chief men) appears in a Mandokoro document of 1125 (*ibid.*, VII, 267); still earlier, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the word yoriuto (settlers) is used interchangeably with jū-nin (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 270-299, etc.). Jū-nin (residents) is a word continually used in the feudal ages for warriors established in rural districts. As for the word hyaku-shō, its important history will be discussed later in this paper.

The word ji-shu (landholder), which later is pronounced ju-nushi, is often met with (e. g., KI, I, 863). The history of this term will also receive notice later.

<sup>55</sup> These men could not, of course, have been the only family heads of the shō, but assuredly were its foremost inhabitants, as may be judged from the interchangeability that we observe, among other things, of the phrases "the place [office] of the hyaku-shō" and "the house of the shō," or "the officials of the shō" and "shō officials and hyaku-shō" and "administrators of the shō house," or "the group-heads and hyaku-shō" and "all men of the shō" (e. g., Koya, VII, 183, 184, 186-187, 246). They were also called shō-min (people of the shō). *Ibid.*, VII, 267.

It was these men upon whom the seignior depended for the rendering of the dues and services of the shō, and whom he persuaded to make oaths of general or fiscal fealty. In the triple shō: in 1164, Koya, VII, 232; in 1199, VII, 236-240; in 1269, IV, 657; VII, 184-186.

<sup>56</sup> Descendants of the original owner and commendator of the tract which later grew to be the triple shō served as its officers at least till 1291 (Koya, VII, 197), and very likely till much later. Examples of hereditary shō officials among chief residents are frequent in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century (e. g., *ibid.*, I, 217, 219; III, 659; VI, 308-309; VII, 250-251, 254-255, etc.); it is probable that nearly all the responsible officials of the shō were these residents, and that most of them were hereditary.

<sup>57</sup> The monks of Kōya abstained from following the pernicious examples of those of the Hi-ei and Nara monasteries of making armed demonstrations against one another and against the imperial court, and of taking an active part in the more decisive battles of the day. However, even the seclusion of the mountain did not afford it sufficient protection against the general unrest of the age, and the monastery was, despite its pacific professions, often compelled to arm itself for sheer defense. The guards consisted of warriors supplied by the various shō and of the more warlike of the monks themselves. KI, V, 45, 135-136; about weapons of shō officials in 1233, see Koya, VIII, 610.

Once provided, the armed force was prone to abuse; for example, from 1140 till about 1175, and again in the next century, there were bloody conflicts between the two factions



that had resulted from a schism following the secession of the monk Kaku-ban. *Ki*, V, 40-44. The attempt made in 1228 by the feudal government to disarm the monks (*Koya* I, 657) probably was but a temporary success. As regards the warriors sent from the different shō for the defense of the monastery, it is not possible to learn details of this form of service.

There is an example of military service under another religious seignior. In 1276, a family in Kyūshū whose members held about 80 acres of rice land was able to supply four warriors, two of them mounted, besides three attendants, all equipped. This must have been an unusually strong family, and its service the utmost it could render; the occasion was during the time of the Mongol invasion. *Iwashimidzu mon-zō*, II, 190-191.

The various monastic shō, which were much more exposed than the sacred mountain, had perforce to be guarded by their chief "residents" against internal discord and external aggression. The men swore that they would "take and hold" turbulent monks and that "the younger men would beat them back" (at Mandokoro shō in 1185; *Koya*, II, 546-558); that "if agents of the shu-go [military constable of the province] intruded on the shō, its officials would protect it against them" (at the triple shō in 1271; *Ibid.*, I, 507); that "if men of another shō invaded the monastic domain," "not only the officials of the shō, but all men, high and low, would, as soon as they heard of the trouble, vigorously put a stop to it" (same in 1276; *Ibid.*, VII, 189). Here again conditions of the military or police service of the residents are as yet obscure.

Neither the monastery nor its shō, however, owed any service in arms to the feudal authorities, either central or provincial; and Kōya appealed to this exemption whenever its aid was solicited by rivaling political parties. *Ki*, V, 135. There is reason to suppose, however, that in the early feudal period the monastery at times rendered voluntarily a service which was obligatory upon all feudal lords, namely, of furnishing men as periodic guards of the imperial palace at Kyōto. See the shōgun's order in 1197. *Koya*, VIII, 23. Nor is it certain whether Kōya was not called upon, as was *Iwashimidzu* (*Iwashimidzu mon-zō*, II, 148-191), to take part in the defense of Japan during the period of the Mongol invasion in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

<sup>68</sup> Frequent warlike aggressions came either from men who claimed and would enforce titles to land in the shō (1199; *Koya*, VII, 236), from agents of neighboring seigniors (about 1186; *Koya*, VII, 146; 1218; *Ki*, V, 46; about 1215-1258; *Koya*, V, 288-291, 501; VII, 250, 255; 1269; IV, 657; VII, 185), from ambitious warriors on their own account (1298 and 1300; *Ki*, V, 49), from feudal provincial authorities (1221; *Koya*, I, 369-370), or from lawless, unattached elements in the surrounding districts that were now cultivators of soil and then freebooters and mercenaries (1207; *Adzuma-kagami*, bk. 17; ed. *Kikkawa*, II, 29). But for the presence of the last-named factor in various parts of Japan, she could neither have been so readily disturbed nor so simply protected, as the case might be, as she was in this period.

<sup>69</sup> *Koya*, I, 503-518; V, 464-465; VII, 187-197, 199-214, 216-223, 225-226, 241-246; VIII, 121-124, 126-128.

<sup>70</sup> The case of the descendants of the original commendator of Kōno-Makuni has been referred to. The post of Ku-mon in Kōno was plainly held by men of one family at least between 1256 and 1315 (*Koya*, I, 509, 518; VII, 197, 223), and probably for a much longer interval. In 1254, the offices of sō to-ne in both Kōno and Sarukawa were declared to be hereditary possessions of the Taira; their incumbents, lately dismissed, were now reinstated, for, as said an interesting order from Kōya, "in the custom of all shō, officers invested for successive generations, if they were temporarily removed, owing to an appeal by the residents or an accusation by the Possessor (ryō-ke), were usually restored when they offered a satisfactory explanation." *Koya*, VI, 308-309. Both these families had presumably descended from the first commendator. At any rate, the principles of hereditary office holding dated from much earlier than 1254. Cf. Note 66 below.

<sup>71</sup> The ku-mon of Makuni in 1303-1315 was a woman (*Koya*, I, 518; VII, 254, 256); though she was sometimes represented by a masculine deputy, it is not clear whether that was due to her sex, for male shō-officials also used deputies. In this period, even stewards (ji-tō) in districts representing the central feudal government were sometimes women.

There was little difference in the understanding of the time between succession to a right of land and that to an office; both were regarded as sources of profit, and a woman could inherit an office as naturally as she could a title on land. *Ibid.*, VI, 288; VII, 184; in the former document an eldest daughter, whose name is quite mannish, signs a deed of sale together with her father; in the latter, Kōya gives an interest in land to a nun.

<sup>72</sup> To-ne, ban-gashira, and other responsible residents bearing no titles. *Koya*, I, 509-513; VII, 199-200, 211-214, 225-226; VIII, 121, 123-124, 126-127.

<sup>73</sup> The sō tsui-ho shi and ku-mon of each part of the triple shō. *Koya*, I, 503-508; VII, 187-192. It would be vain to try to translate the titles. These higher officials, as

"men invested in the shō," had the duties to defend it, to respond to the summons from the seignior ("if he [the official] himself is afflicted with a grave illness, he should offer a solemn oath and present his son [in his stead]; if he has no son, then some one like himself"). One man was a resident in a district, served as sō tsui-ho shi in another, and held an office land in a third (I, 509; IV, 633; VII, 192); the meaning of this is patent—he is an example of an invested servant.

<sup>64</sup> The oaths of the one class contain the statement which those of the other class do not, that if the official violated some one (in oaths of 1276 and 1315), or any one article (in oaths of 1271, 1291, and 1303) of his agreement, "his office would be revoked." When, in 1254, the dismissed sō to-ne of Kōno and Sarukawa were on their prayer reinstated, the monastery improved the opportunity to make each of them swear that "in all things I [he] would obey the command of the monastery," that "in my [his] management of all affairs, great and small, the interest of the monastery would be my [his] chief consideration," and that "if any of my [his] descendants violated this pledge, he would be totally disabled to hold this office." Koya, I, 217, 219.

In this connection I might give a version of the unabridged oath with which the officials, irrespective of the degree of their freedom, concluded their solemn pronouncements: "If I fabricate a lie and violate this pledge, divine punishments of Brahma and Indra, the Four Great Heavenly Raja, all the great and small kami of Japan, [the deities of] the four shrines of Amano and their relatives and attendants, Dai-shi and Vajrapāni, and all the deities of the two mandala, will enter through the 84,000 pores of my body, and I shall be in this life afflicted with the grave ills of white leprosy and black leprosy, and in the next life fall into the limitless hell, with no opportunity to issue therefrom. Thus I swear."

<sup>65</sup> In Adegawa, 1138 and 1193 (Koya, V, 651, 654-656); Ota, 1198 (VIII, 590-592); Arakawa, 1254 (VII, 117); Hamanaka, 1298 (IV, 354); Nade, 1271 (III, 438); etc. For the triple shō: The ku-mon of Ishibashiri, in 1263 (VII, 186-187); sō tsui-ho shi of Sarukawa, who lived in Shibame (Saime), and was granted land in Kōno (cited in note 63 above); to the holders of the same office in 1291 were assigned peasant families (men-ka) whose members they could employ and who probably paid them dues (VII, 193-197); these officers seem to have held land (article 18) which probably accompanied their post.

It may at the same time be taken for granted that there still were some shō officers who received no special compensation in land or rice, but in their direct contact with the taxpayers had sufficient opportunities to reward their service. The intendants in French manors are said to have been farmers and received no remuneration from the lord, but had comfortable personal incomes.

<sup>66</sup> Having been freed of the Possessor (ryō-ke) of the double shō in 1221 and of its feudal steward (ji-tō) in 1227, Kōya, at length a seignior of full power, soon found the first opportunity to assert its authority over the shō officials. In 1228, for certain alleged offenses, Kōya without scruple dismissed and banished the powerful ku-mon of Kōno, whose family, as descendants of the original commendator of the shō, had held the post for generations. If the culprit made an effort to return with the aid of great families at Kyōto, his descendants would be "debarred even unto the seventh generation." Koya, I, 296; VII, 182. It is likely that this man soon repaired his wrongs and was restored to his office. His successor also was in 1254 dismissed and restored. See Note 60 above. In each case were both the principles of hereditary office holding and of seigniorial authority allowed to prevail through a compromise.

The banishment and confiscation of a ku-mon of Arakawa in 1293 was the penalty for a specially heinous crime, and there was no compromise (III, 659). Other seigniors may have been more arbitrary. Cf. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 254-256.

<sup>67</sup> In the document of 1228 referred to in the last note are mentioned agents of the monastery who held land in the shō. Koya, VII, 181. In 1269 the administrator (zasshō) of Shishikui shō was a monastic agent and his tenure revocable. Ki, IV, 905.

<sup>68</sup> Among the titles of documents listed in 1246 appear "A table of wet and upland fields of the triple district of Kōno, etc.," and "A map of the shō." Koya, II, 389-390. These documents might have thrown light on the tenures of that date, but unfortunately they have not been preserved.

<sup>69</sup> Instances of hereditary transmission and of mortgage and sale of lands are too common and numerous in the cartulary to need references. In each case, all documents that had in the past successively established the titles to the given piece of land were handed over by the old holder to the new, so that their number increased as conveyance was repeated. Cf. Note 79 below. In each case a duplicate of the deed seems to have been presented to the office of the shō, and thence to the monastery, this constituting apparently the only formality that the seignior required. There is no evidence of, nor was there yet any reason for, the exaction of a seigniorial relief or *droit de mutation*. Usually the conveyor was the only signer of the deed, but in certain instances a



child, usually the eldest, whether son or daughter, signed with the father and sometimes the buyer as well. Rarely did officials of the shō affix countersignatures to such documents. Koya, III, 510.

<sup>70</sup> The expulsion of offending landholders and the confiscation of their tenures were not only established in law (as in the oaths of 1271, 1276, and 1291; see Note 59 above), but actually enforced (e. g., in 1291 Koya, VIII, 122). The offenses stated in the oaths as meriting this penalty were the robbing of the fruit of harvest in another's land, arbitrary exaction of rice or money from people, and willful confusion of jurisdictions with other seigniories.

The instances cited above are from the triple shō, and all date from the latter half of the twelfth century. In Mandokoro shō, where, as has been said (Note 17 above), the monastery wielded large powers from relatively early times, confiscations had occurred already in 1190. *Ibid.*, VII, 267-268.

<sup>71</sup> The confiscated lands at Mandokoro, just referred to in the preceding note, were granted in perpetuity to residents on payment of certain sums. Instances of such payments are rare. A case of a simple grant of dispossessed land occurs in the double shō in 1260 (Koya, VII, 184); another in Nade shō in 1271 (III, 438). As the seignior was ever on the alert to multiply the more precarious tenures in his domains at the expense of the freer ones, he as naturally availed himself of confiscations as he also did of abandoned holdings (e. g., in Makuni about 1218, *ibid.* VII, 180) and of disputed cases that he adjudicated (e. g., in Kōno in 1271, *ibid.*, III, 583), to create dependent tenants.

<sup>72</sup> Despite the orthodox theories regarding the history of the myō-den (cf., e. g., T. Yoshida, *Shō-yen sei-do no tai-yō*, p. 147), the study of the whole subject needs to be rebuilt upon documents. In the present state of critical knowledge, I hardly dare go beyond the suggestions I offer in notes 73 and 108 below, and must refrain from presuming to answer such questions as follow: What is the institutional difference, as well as relation, between the myō (na) and the azana, both proper names of lands, and what is the origin of each? Why did similar myō suggesting the personal names of noblemen occur in many parts of Japan? Was the myō-den, usually only a few acres in extent, often as large as a shō, and could it as such become a shō? Can the current theory be verified that the myō in the words dai-myō (great lords) and shō-myō (petty lords) was derived from the myō of myō-den? How often was a myō-den an antecedent of mura (rural division) of the Edo period, like Agegai in Kōno? Kōno contained, in 1425, at least 11 myō. Koya, IV, 445-446.

<sup>73</sup> The granting of common myō-den in our shō occurs as early as before 1183 (Koya, VI, 300; for the date, compare Ki, V, 124), and continues ever after (e. g., Koya, I, 218; IV, 632-634). Similar grants to officeholders in the shō and to monks are as often met with from the latter half of the thirteenth century (I, 509; III, 652-660; IV, 633; VII, 186, 192; these names to be studied together; Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 322-323, 393, 418), as myō-holders (myō-shu) serving in official capacities. Koya, IV, 632-634. There had even appeared myō-den bearing official titles, in lieu of personal names, as their designations (Ji-tō myō: *ibid.*, VIII, 612-613; Sō tsui-ho shi myō: IV, 632-634; Ku-mon myō: VII, 186-187; etc.).

Like all holdings (ryō, possession; chi-gyō, holding)—or at least all those that had originated in private ownership—the myō-den was transmissible by heredity, divisible, and alienable (Koya, III, 540, 543, etc.; IV, 632-634; VII, 187, 250-252), so that the same piece continued to change hands and the memory of the origin of its proper names was often lost. Whether such free conveyance was either allowed or practiced with myō-den attached to officials can not be asserted.

<sup>74</sup> It is true that "residents" of shō who had assumed Buddhist names (men called nyū-dō) also commended landed interests to Kōya (e. g., Koya, II, 226), but more remarkable are commendations made by monks of the monastery (many of whom themselves had doubtless been "residents"); some of the interests thus transferred had been held by monks in heredity or master-to-pupil succession (III, 420), some had circulated among monks (V, 487-488), and some had been bought by them with a view to giving them to the monastery (II, 145; III, 447, where the commendation was carried out the day after the purchase). A catalogue of the commended pieces in all the Kōya shō which seems to have been first compiled about 1333 (VIII, 466-532), though imperfectly preserved, contained more than 400 entries, including a few repetitions; and a great majority were recent commendations. The history of many of these pieces of land may be partially traced in other documents scattered through the entire cartulary. In one instance, an estate that had been held by a family for five generations was from 1272 divided into separate plots, each following an independent course in the next 60 years, and all apparently having been commended to Kōya by 1333 (II, 193, 241; III, 402, 446, 500, 539, 583; VIII, 472, 475-476, 500, 528).

These significant phenomena, it will be readily inferred, reflect the earnest desire of the monastic seignior to see the monks acquire secular holdings and hold them securely

1090



in their hands pending commendation. When, in 1263, the disputed title to a *myō-den* in Kōno was granted by Kōya to a monk, he was made to swear that he, "as one of the monks of the monastery, would manage the affairs [in the place] exactly as in the other monkish holdings," and that, if he "ceased to live on the mountain, he would convey the title to one who lived there, and would not let it fall into the possession of anyone below the mountain or living elsewhere" (I, 218).

<sup>75</sup> Koya, II, 193, 226. "In order to requite the munificence of the High Founder [Kōbō] and to pray for the bodhi [Buddhist wisdom] of my benefactors." III, 421. "I pray that, for this slight offering, I might in the future reach the court of the reincarnated Maitreya and serve at the presence of the enlightened Dai-shi [Kōbō]." II, 193. "For the deliverance of the late master and parent and for the enlightenment of the pupil and child." II, 241.

<sup>76</sup> As the monastery had a greater insurance of its income from a piece of land when it was in the hands of one of its own monks than when it was held by a *shō*-resident, one is not surprised to find that Kōya encouraged monkish acquisitions by granting them certain exemptions. Koya, V, 487-488. When the land was commended to Kōya, even though the commendation may in most cases only have secured the seigniorial right of Kōya of formally investing the successive holders or "cultivators," the monastery gained in the increased dependency of the tenures and their added uniformity that resulted. These two points seem clear; what is not as clear is the advantage derived by the monk by his act of commendation that must have been so great as to make it, as was the case, a universal practice in all the *shō* of Kōya. The supposed reason stated in the text finds confirmation in the fact that, in 1286, a commendor reserved in his family the hereditary right of "cultivatorship." Koya, III, 410.

<sup>77</sup> It may well be imagined how strongly the monastery was aided by the ready division and conveyance of landed rights and interests practiced by the *ji-shu*, in its eager effort to convert *myō-den* and other holdings into more dependent tenures (note 73) and to induce commendations through monks (notes 74 and 76).

<sup>78</sup> Already for decades the monastery had been harassed by its own unruly inmates and by intruding marauders, when from the end of the thirteenth century the power of the central feudal government waned and the general commotion grew more intense throughout Japan. Kōya was obliged to guard its sacred grounds with heavier garrisons raised in the *shō* than ever. One or two references to contemporary documents will reveal the condition without further comment.

In 1242 the monastery asserted: "When it is rumored or discovered that a lawless act has been committed by wicked men within these precincts, it has been customary in this monastery from olden times to establish guards and man the various squares and avenues." KI, V, 43. Representative monks themselves said in a solemn document dated 1271: "... It has of late been reported at the various houses [of this monastery] that night attacks, robberies, incendiarisms, and murders have increased yearly and been repeated daily, and that gambling has been continual...". Koya, I, 482. In 1228 and about 1310 ineffectual efforts were made by the feudal and imperial governments to interdict warlike behavior of monks. Koya, I, 557; KI, V, 136. There is an order from Kōya dated 1307 commanding that officers of a *shō* should present on appointed dates its full quota of warriors for attendance on the mountain, on pain of forfeiting their trust. Koya, VIII, 77-78; cf. 184. See note 57 above.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. note 69 above. It is here necessary to cite only notable cases from the triple *shō*. During the 15 years after 1254, a piece of land that had been held by members of the strong Magami family was transferred so often that its conveyance in 1269 was accompanied by 11 deeds. Koya, VI, 288; VII, 183-184. Within 30 years after 1303 a rice land with an extent of barely a quarter of an acre changed hands at short intervals and was finally commended to Kōya with seven documents. III, 540, 543, 608, 610; V, 599; VIII, 515.

<sup>80</sup> This is another knotty problem which may be solved, if at all, only by the study of actual documents of the time. And a part of this important problem is the historical relation of the agricultural laborers of this period with the numerous domestic slaves (*shi nu-hi*, *shi sen*) of the earlier ages. As for the hired agricultural laborers after the close of the second feudal period, see note 116 below.

<sup>81</sup> It is altogether likely that in the early life of a *shō* the landholder and the cultivator were often one and the same person. Compare, for example, the word "settlers" (*yoriuto*), meaning the first inhabitants of a new *shō* (see note 54 above), that appears in a document of 1072, with the phrase "to settle and cultivate" (*yori-tsukuru*) used in reference to the same place 60 years later (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 327). As a matter of fact, when a *shō* was created around a cultivated area, it was necessary to procure men to settle on the still uncultivated places to develop them. We find from the end of the eighth century that it was the custom of the managers of *shō* to welcome outlaws to settle (*yori-sumu*) there, apparently for this very pur-

pose (Rui-zhū san-dai kyaku, bk. 8, in Koku-shi tai-kei, XII, 708); there may have been law-abiding settlers as well. At any rate, we here seem to see the origin of the yoriuto, who in the course of time differentiated into "landholders" and "cultivators."

It is obvious that the differentiation between the "landholdership" and "cultivatorship" as rights (shiki) developed still later, though the manner of this differentiation has not yet been investigated.

<sup>82</sup> 1123. Imashimidzu mon-zho, I, 343.

<sup>83</sup> Instances of "cultivators" bearing good family names: Koya, II, 172; VIII, 483-484. Those mentioned with the honorific title dono (esquire): V, 487; VI, 288. The same "cultivator" holding the right in several plots: Koya, V, 486ff.; VIII, 122, 409-414, 483-484. The "cultivators" who were also "landholders": Inferentially, Koya, I, 218; III, 410; VIII, 122, 409-414. Clear cases from the next period: Ibid., V, 504-518.

As will be readily seen, it had resulted from the prevailing fluidity of real rights that the same person held both the "landholdership" (ji-shu shiki) and the "cultivatorship" (saku-nin shiki) of a plot of land, or the one right of a plot and the other right of another plot. Logically, also, a tenant of many "cultivatorships" might also be a "landholder" and otherwise be an influential "resident."

<sup>84</sup> The so-called ge (or shita) saku-nin—did it mean "undercultivator" or "cultivator of the shita-ji," that is, the soil?—did the actual work of tilling (cf. 1263: Koya, I, 218), but it is not clear whether they worked under the ordinary "cultivators," and whether the prefix ge (under) had been added because a differentiation had developed between these actual tillers and the holders of "cultivatorships."

<sup>85</sup> The sole "cultivator" of a district in Yamashiro had, in 1123, "granted it to his friends" (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 343); whatever the terms of the "grants," the same man probably retained his title of "cultivator" and its attendant profit and obligations. I construe in the same light the case of those "cultivators" in a Kōya shō, in 1273, who had "sold" the rights to others, but officially were still titular "cultivators"; the "sales" were private and the buyers were not recognized. Koya, V, 486-487.

As a result of division and transfer, "cultivators" from the latter half of the thirteenth century not infrequently held saku-shiki in other districts or even shō. Ibid., I, 508; II, 193; V, 513; VIII, 470, 526.

<sup>86</sup> A man begged Kōya that he be allowed to succeed to the "name land" that his father had held and lost, and that "people of the shō be made its cultivators" under him. 1263: Koya, I, 218. "Cultivators" are mentioned under monkish "landholders." 1273: V, 486-488. Oaths of 1271 (art. 15) and 1291 (art. 33) contain provisions against offensive behavior of the "cultivator" toward his master "landholder." I, 508; VII, 196. It is also remarkable that the "landholder" sometimes retained his rights over the cultivatorship of a piece of land whose interest he alienated; he remained as master over the "cultivator" (II, 186; III, 403, 608-609), deriving a profit from the continued control.

In 1164 a "cultivator's" right had to be renewed at the change of his master "landholder." Koya, II, 172. Even when the heredity of the right had later become a matter of course, a semblance of its originally precarious character was sometimes retained in formal documents; in 1237 a former "landholder" swears to the buyer of his right: "As regards the cultivatorship [that has been held by Gempachi, a third party], it should without doubt be at your disposal, but I understand that it will, because of my intercession, remain in the same hands for the time being, and that if its holder fails in his duties, you will dispose of it." Ibid., VII, 240.

<sup>87</sup> The retention of the same "cultivators" by "landholders" who followed one another by heredity or alienation is common after the middle of the thirteenth century (inferred from cases that occur in Koya, V, 486ff.; in II, 145; and VIII, 494). Some were called jō saku-nin, "fixed cultivators"; e. g., Gempachi between 1304 and about 1333, in *ibid.*, III, 540, 543, 608, 610; VIII, 515, etc.; the catalogue of 1333 (?) contains many other "fixed" instances (VIII, 466-532).

That "cultivators" were sometimes defiant of their "landholders" is reflected in the oaths of officials of the triple shō of 1271 (art. 15) and 1291 (art. 33). Ibid., I, 508; VII, 196.

<sup>88</sup> That "cultivators" in this shō were in direct relation of some kind with its officials and seignior over the heads of "landholders" is inferred from the following passages. In a document, probably of the late 13th century, occurs this obscure statement: "Any case of an error of [? committed by] 'cultivators' shall be reported [to the monastery] with joint signatures of the myō holders and district chiefs; if they neglect to do so, they shall pay a sa-da ryō [?"administration fee"] for the 'cultivators'" (Koya, IV, 634); the oath of 1291 by a shō official says, among other things: "When a 'cultivator' is guilty of an offense, I will not put up a placard in a monkish estate and cause it



trouble" (VII, 193), and "I will not, in behalf of a 'cultivator,' act unreasonably toward a 'landholder' or myō holder" (VII, 196). In the next period, a direct payment of dues by "cultivators" to monastic agents is evident (VIII, 227).

When increasing numbers of plots were bought by monks and commended to Kōya (see Note 74 above), the "cultivators" of the plots passed naturally into a more direct relation with monastic agents. The catalogue about 1333, mentioned in the same Note, gives the name of the "cultivator" for almost every entry it contains.

<sup>80</sup> There is a reference to "the cultivator's dues" as early as 1072 in another seignory. (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 298.) In Kōya shō the conveyances of landholderships, in 1272 and 1307, by men who reserved to themselves a control of cultivatorships, betray the existence of profits derivable from this control (Koya, III, 403, 608-609), while documents of 1308 and 1317 specifically give the rates of the "cultivator's" dues to the "landholder." II, 186; VII, 240.

<sup>81</sup> Koya, V, 651-652; VII, 280-301 (I presume these names to be those of "cultivators"); VIII, 409-414; etc.

From the late 13th century, in defining the boundaries of a plot, the old custom of mentioning geographical features in the four bounding directions (e. g., east, to the river; west, to the road; south, the district so-and-so; north, hill so-and-so), gave place in an increasing number of cases to a new way, that is, of giving the names of the "cultivators" of the adjoining plots (e. g., south, Tomoyoshi's saku, or "cultivation"; north, Tokugorō's saku). Koya, III, 500, 539; VI, 288. Rarely do the holders' names of these plots appear for this purpose.

<sup>82</sup> The list of 1218 may be of "landholders." Koya, VIII, 592-597. Those of 1337 (VII, 280-302) and 1368 (VIII, 452-455) are doubtful.

<sup>83</sup> Near Kyōto, civil nobles continued to exercise control over their shō at least until the middle of the 14th century (Yen-tai reki, diary of Fujiwara-no-Kimikata; 1345, the memorial by the governor of Settsu; Yale ms., V, 132-133). Even here, however, to say nothing of the remoter parts of Japan, it was not long before the military ji-tō (stewards) in the shō succeeded in defying and completely ignoring the feeble, impoverished civil hon-ke (lord) and ryō-ke (possessor) at Kyōto; the old shō documents were held in scant respect, for might alone made right. On the other hand, the ji-tō owed dues and services to his feudal lord. The private warrior who had first entered the shō under a civil lord in the humble capacity of a manager, had ended in becoming its lord under a military overlord.

<sup>84</sup> The military shu-go (constable) of the province had obliterated its old civil governorship and become its supreme lord; all the ji-tō and other chiefs in the territory he regarded as his vassals. The province had become a domain that comprised fiefs arranged in the descending series of a hierarchical organization. Public functions had become private possessions, while private rights had been so extended as to coalesce with public offices.

It is needless to say that all domains were not coextensive with provinces (kuni). A few comprised several kuni each, while the majority were fractions of kuni. The tendency with the military domains was in the direction of an amalgamation into fewer and larger domains.

<sup>85</sup> In the first period, the policy of the suzerain seems to have been to keep the domains of his immediate vassals intact by restricting their freedom of sale and mortgage; there still remained distinctions of tenures among them and among the rear-vassals. During the period of civil war, however, the general tendency was to reduce all military tenures of land to precarious grants in fee. It may be said that the most powerful lords, like the Hōjō and the Shimadzu, were those who had best succeeded in enforcing this policy, as it contributed powerfully to the necessary discipline and coherence. This was another result of the same need and the same power that had established the vassal's duty of primogeniture and the lord's interference in his marriage and succession.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. T. Yoshia, Shō-yen sei-do no tai-yō, ch. 17.

<sup>87</sup> For a fuller discussion of these points, see my "Notes on the village government in Japan after 1600" in the Journal of the American oriental society, Vol. XXX, pt. 3, and Vol. XXXI, pt. 2, 1910-1911.

<sup>88</sup> In the first feudal period the chief weapons in warfare were the bow and arrow, and combat was individual; only in close quarters were swordsmanship and wrestling resorted to. At the end of the fourteenth century the sword had largely replaced the bow and arrow as the first arm, and from the sixteenth the spear found favor beside the sword. Each of these successive innovations was accompanied by more organized methods of war, without entirely doing away with displays of individual skill and valor. Gunpowder and a firearm were accidentally brought in by shipwrecked Portuguese about 1543, and their use and manufacture quickly spread over Japan, though they never succeeded in replacing the older weapons, even the bow and arrow. The adoption of the new arms greatly accelerated the progress of organized tactics, under the impact of which petty seignories were absorbed or crushed out of existence between domains that grew larger



and fewer; and the civil strife became more universal and intense. This was attended by those far-reaching social effects to which I refer in the text.

<sup>98</sup> The theory that the land-holding peasant was not an owner but merely a tenant entitled to the hereditary use of the soil on the condition that he rendered his dues and services to the lord was expressed at the end of the period in such current terms as the peasants' *chi-gyō* and *ade-okonai*, common expressions for grants in tenure. *Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, III, 654, etc. The same idea, as a theory, persisted throughout the third feudal period in some domains. See note 30 in the article referred to in note 96 above.

<sup>99</sup> When Hideyoshi made a general cadastral survey of Japan in 1594-1599, he frankly recognized the actual state of things. Note the following instructions issued by his commissioners to their subordinates: "The right of cultivation over a wet or upland piece of land belongs to him under whose name it was registered during the recent survey. It is forbidden to allow the land to be taken by another person, or to take another person's land under the pretext that one has once had the right of its cultivation." "It is strictly forbidden to give to the lord any of the cultivated lands recorded in the register." (Both quoted in T. Yoshida, *Dai Ni-hon chi-mei zhi-sho*, introduction, p. 94.) In these words are plainly implied the facts that the peasant had gathered in his hands the interests in his holding that had been split, and that he had established a practical ownership of the holding. During the next period, therefore, the sale or other act of alienating land meant a downright conveyance of the complete use of the land, and rarely again a fraction of interest.

<sup>100</sup> Encroachments upon Kōya shō were continual throughout the period (Ki, V, 136-140), and some districts were temporarily absorbed into military fiefs (Kōya, I, 554). The monastery was compelled repeatedly to seek imperial and feudal edicts recognizing its inviolable rights in its domains (Ki, V, 142-143). These continual turmoils retarded the economic and financial life of some shō. Note large decreases in tilled areas and proceeds from them in later years. in Kōya, VI, 568-591; VII, 5-14, 24, 27-34, 46-53, 55-57, 62-66, 69-95, 101-111.

<sup>101</sup> It seems that till 1584 the monastery strongly guarded the seven passes of the mountain. Ki, V, 148. For general service the various shō owed to the monastery the duty of sending up armed contingents. Kōya, VIII, 183-184. There is an imperial mandate to Kōya dated 1463, ordering that a body of monastic troops should serve under the command of a feudal lord in an expedition against a rebel (III, 34); such cases of external military service for men of Kōya domains are extremely rare, and only serve to indicate the armed strength that the monastery could command. And it is not surprising to find that, in this age of anarchy, lawless warriors in some shō attempted aggressions upon surrounding countries. Ki, V, 145-146.

<sup>102</sup> About 1580 Kōya is said to have controlled 2,063 mura, or peasant communities, aggregating an annual yield equivalent to 173,000 koku, or 865,000 bushels of hulled rice (Ki, V, 146), and to have comprised within the precincts on the mountain more than 7,700 buildings. However that may be, the fact that the proprietary power of Kōya was the greatest when it was the most exposed to aggression bespoke its ability to take care of its own interest.

<sup>103</sup> In 1581 Kōya defied Nobunaga after he had razed to the ground the powerful monastery on Mount Hiei, killed his envoys, gave battle to his expeditionary army, and, though it lost more than 1,300 monkish warriors, succeeded in repelling the invaders. Ki, V, 145-146, etc. Documents of that time reveal that Kōya's influence was felt even beyond its domains, and it commanded the service not only of local chiefs and their followers, but also of four large bodies of religious men in the province of Kii who were readily convertible into troops. *Ibid.*, III, supplement, 187-188.

<sup>104</sup> Officials in the Kōya shō, including those in direct contact with the peasants, were obviously treated by the monastery as its employees, whose service was rewarded with rice or land. Kōya, IV, 154-157; VII, 247; VIII, 461. They were consequently all dependent on the seignior for their positions. In 1422 Kōya summoned all officials, squires, and chief peasants, on pain of punishment, to attend in person on the monastery for an important conference (VIII, 237); previously, in 1367, the monastic council had decreed that "officials of all shō" who did not respond to a summons would be dismissed and never reinstated (VIII, 330).

Such probably was a universal tendency in Japan, perhaps more advanced in military fiefs than in religious domains; in some of the latter the higher agents in shō had even ceased to be hereditary, but had merely farmed out certain fiscal rights for terms of years. Cf. *Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, I, 455-459, 469-470; III, 403-404, etc. The process whereby the seignior had gradually succeeded in replacing representative residents with paid or farmed-out appointees as shō officials is well reflected in a feudal order of a late date, which stated that "in those places where the people owed various services [to the officials], their control should be assumed by the monastery as soon as vacancies

occurred" (*ibid.*, III, 182); these posts then could be given or farmed out to others on more precarious tenures than before.

<sup>105</sup> Towards 1600 there reappeared in many parts of Japan rural officials who were in various ways selected from among the peasants and represented their interest (e. g., Koya, III, 135; about 1599); this is one of the most significant phenomena of the last part of the second feudal period. The one thing that characterized these peasant agents, wherever they appeared, was the greater responsibility imposed upon them for the obedience and the good conduct of the peasants than the merely employed agents had assumed or could have been expected to assume. I think the meaning of this is patent: The peasantry was unarmed and therefore physically weaker than in the earlier times, but was higher in proprietary status and politically freer; no lord or seignior could be a successful ruler in that age of competition who failed to enlist the good-will of the people who were at the foundation of the economic life of society; the consideration of the interest of the peasantry thus became an essential art of feudal statesmanship. And it was a most delicate human art; it had been studied, discussed, and practised in China during the centuries of her long history as an agricultural state. The chief principles underlying the art, as it was evolved in China, and in Japan after the sixteenth century, would seem to have been: Paternal care by the lord for the peasant nature and peasant interest, and a large degree of responsibility for order and good behavior imposed upon the peasants themselves. Official paternalism and peasant responsibility were the very texture that made the elaborate fabric of village government under the Tokugawa in the third feudal period. The importance of the peasant agent as the medium between ruler and ruled is obvious. Cf. Note 96 above.

Peasant agents were usually known as *shō-ya* or *na-nushi*. The origin of the latter term will be referred to in Note 108 below. *Shō-ya*, like *shō-ka* (both meaning "shō-house"; see Note 18 above), was first used as early as 1293 (when the pronunciation was perhaps *shō-oku* for the later *shō-ya*), to designate the house in which were the offices of the *shō*-agents (Koya, III, 660); both terms also applied to the officials themselves in general. Now, *shō-ya* stood for representatives of peasants, and long survived the institution of *shō*.

<sup>106</sup> Late in the fourteenth century two vassals of the lord of the province of Kii took Sarukawa, and Kōya thought it expedient to treat them as its officials till the lord was changed. Koya, I, 554. The monks made a general statement in 1403 of similar conditions that occurred in other places, in these terms: "The domains of this monastery . . . were formerly managed by *shō*-officials and people under the direct control of the monastery, and the civil and military governors of the province did not interfere. When changes occurred in monastic domains, however, the military governor's vassals encroached upon them, pretending that some were grants [from the monastery] and others vacancies . . .". *Ibid.*, IV, 38.

<sup>107</sup> The Tajiri, from Chikugo, and the Kōno, from Iyo, who in the sixteenth century migrated into the triple *shō*, appropriated land, and made themselves lords, are seen toward the end of the second period merely as district officials capable of armed service, recompensed with money and exemptions from forced labor, not with fiefs. Ki, I, 848; III, supp. 187, 189.

<sup>108</sup> As has already been said (in Notes 72 and 73 above), sales and transfers of "name-lands" are common in the Kōya cartulary. What resulted from the frequent conveyance of lands of this variety, however, seems somewhat more easily traceable in domains of Iwashimidzu than in those of Kōya, though I presume the process must have been similar in both.

1. In many instances the obvious trend during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the gradual replacing of the few large holders of "name-lands" by many small holders; a *myō*, for example, which once formed a part of one man's holding was in less than a century split among several *myō-shu* (e. g., Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 478-482; II, 259, 269). The result was that *myō*-holders were no more than chief peasants of the community. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 389, 420.

2. In the course of transferring titles of "name-lands," they not infrequently were placed in the hands of the seignior or his agent (*ibid.*, I, 507); in the Kōya domains, as it will be remembered (see Note 74 above), this process had been actively carried on through monks. It was then natural that "name-lands" should lose all memory of their origins, and be freely disposed of by the seignior; and that some of them should be regarded as appanages to certain offices in *shō* the tenure of which was accompanied with grants of these lands. Cf. *ibid.*, 441-442.

3. The next development was that the title *na-nushi* (the new reading of the two characters once pronounced *myō-shu*), having been identified with principal peasants and minor officials, was now used regularly, in an identical sense with the term *shō-ya* explained in Note 105 above, for designating the representative chief of the peasant community, quite irrespectively of the nature of his landholding. In fact, most *na-nushi* held no "name-lands."



The course of this evolution of the "name" outlined above is indicative of the important general developments that were taking place among the peasantry.

<sup>109</sup> The literal meaning of hyaku-shō (Chinese, po-sing) is "one hundred family names." It originated in China, where it generally meant the subjects of the State who bore the burden of taxation. This central meaning has been the same in Japan as in China, but there are two conditions which should be noted if one would clearly understand the word as used in Japanese history. In China, the number of family or clan names has seldom exceeded a few hundreds; in Japan, on the contrary, family names had indefinitely multiplied as old families branched out and scattered, until, to make the confusion worse confounded, the very people who were called hyaku-shō in the last feudal period were not permitted to bear family names (shō) at all. Again, in China, the po-sing have in the past ages shown a remarkable stability as social classes, while in Japan the conditions of the taxable classes had undergone important changes before the close of the feudal periods, both in their social character and in their relation to other classes. Many a scholar has misled himself by facetiously assuming that the term has always meant the tax-paying peasants in rural communities; this was, in fact, its meaning only in the last feudal period, when peasants bore no family names. Reflection should show that the term could be applied to them in such condition only because it had come down from an earlier age when it was first adopted from China and really designated taxable people bearing the comparatively few family names then in existence. The borrowed term was germane to the real condition in the seventh century, but an incongruous survival a thousand years later.

<sup>110</sup> That this was the meaning of the term after the reforms of the seventh century is clear in the annals and laws of the period. The term was nearly identical with ryō-min, free people, as distinguished from the sen-min, unfree. The latter seems to have been a fairly large class, and the former smaller in proportion than the hyaku-shō in 1600.

<sup>111</sup> See Notes 47-56 above.

<sup>112</sup> This was a universal phenomenon. A single illustration from a Kōya domain will suffice: In Shbutsu shō, about 1422, besides hayku-shō, administrative officials (sa-da nin), and servants (shimobe), there were some men collectively called tono-bara (squires) who bore family names and boasted that they had never been subjected to menial service. Koya, VIII, 224, 233, 235. Note the distinct differentiation between the tono-bara and the Hyaku-shō. The monastery was determined to subject both to forced labor and generally to bend them all to its will. *Ibid.*, 224 ff.

This is a transitional state of things. A more advanced picture is revealed in a domain under Iwashimidzu; its hyaku-shō, in the middle of the seventeenth century, still contained men bearing family names, but these were hereditary servitors of a Shintō institution and therefore more or less genteel; some 20 years later the hyaku-shō are seen to be a body of meek, unresisting peasants; and thenceforth men with family names were seldom mentioned among them. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 550-565, 581-598, 623-626, 637-639.

The term ji ge nin (men working the soil), which was common at least from the latter part of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, I, 469, 455, etc.), perhaps at first implied a lower status than the term hyaku-shō, but about 1600 the two had become identical (e. g., *ibid.*, III, 654, 663-664; Koya, III, 82). The ji ge nin probably had not changed, but the hyaku-shō had gradually come round to his position.

As the hyaku-shō had become incapable of defending themselves, the old policy of the seignior to insure the security of their lives and property (e. g., Koya, I, 217-220, VI, 308-309, and the oaths referred to in note 59 above), received added emphasis and was made an article in the political creed of the administrator, not only in the Kōya shō but in the feudal Japan at large.

<sup>113</sup> The tenant farmers in the late second and during the whole of the third feudal period in Japan could not have formed a large class, for the strong reason, among others, that the small margin of profit which was left to the landlord between the economic rent he could receive and the heavy land tax he had to pay effectively precluded the growth of extensive tenant farming.

<sup>114</sup> For the condition of the tenant farmers in Japan after 1600, I refer to my "Notes" (15 and 37) in the *Journal of the American oriental society*, Vol. XXX, pt. 2.

<sup>115</sup> It was natural that from the beginning of the feudal period there were among the hyaku-shō small peasants who were too poor to provide themselves with arms, and were compelled to flee before an invading warrior or an arbitrary tax collector (e. g., Koya, VII, 180, 236); but large armed "landholders" were also among hyaku-shō. The early condition of "cultivators" was also varied and the variety increased for a time. I take it that the rural classes in France had also been complex before they were settled as serfs and villains.

<sup>116</sup> The hired agricultural laborers (saku-otoko, cultivating men) were attached to families, not to land, usually for limited terms, though sometimes for generations. They neither possessed nor rented pieces of land for their own exploitation, but it was not



unusual after 1600 to see a thrifty saku-otoko buy or rent land with his savings and start his career as a tenant or an independent peasant. These laborers could not properly be called serfs, for they had no assigned holdings, owed no dues or fixed forced labor, but on the contrary worked for wages or other forms of remuneration, and were unrestricted in marriage and succession, and in the acquisition and disposal of property; nor was it customary to transfer them with the land on which they had worked for their employers. They were domestic hired men, no more nor less.

They formed a necessary institution in Japanese agriculture, for the reason that there was a narrow limit to the working capacity of a peasant in his intensive rice-culture. Since peasant holdings were small and distributed without extreme inequalities, the average number of men hired in a peasant family was probably one or two, making their presence unobtrusive though universal. See also notes 7 and 49, above.

<sup>117</sup> It is needless to say that this process had been gradual in the second period; in some parts of Japan the evolution may not have been completed for some time after 1600, whereas in others it was in evidence so early as the middle of the fourteenth century (e. g., see the memorial of the governor of Settsu in 1345, in Yen-tai reki, diary of Fujiwara-no-Kimikata; Yale ms., V, 133, 135), if not still earlier. See notes 90 and 91 above and text. Generally speaking, from the fifteenth century it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between "landholders" and "cultivators" in lists of men in Kōya shō (Koya, V, 356-389; VIII, 452-455; Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 264); toward the end of the sixteenth, the distinction had largely vanished (Iwashimidzu, III, 426-515); then the term saku-shiki (right of cultivation), which had formerly meant the right of "cultivatorship" (saku-nin shiki), had come to mean the right of exploiting the soil, and no longer indicated a "cultivator" as its subject; one who had the new saku-shiki was the very holder of the land, ji-nushi (ibid., III, 629-630). See also a document of 1391, in Ko mon-zho rui-san, 3d. ed. 225. Compare the instructions of Hideyoshi's agents quoted in note 99 above.

<sup>118</sup> That Kōya domains had partially and temporarily been taken by warriors was shown in notes 106 and 107 above. During the sixteenth century parts of religious domains were treated by the feudal lords in whose jurisdictions they happened to be situated as if they were fiefs granted by them to Kōya (Koya, V, 636) or Iwashimidzu (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 33, 386, 658); but neither institution had been compelled to submit itself to the position of receiving all its domains in fief from a lord or suzerain till the time of Hideyoshi late in the century.

<sup>119</sup> The word han (Chinese, fan), meaning "fence," "boundary," "frontier," and, hence, "march," as well as "protective barrier," also designated in China large sections of the empire charged to the administration of great princes. The Tokugawa suzerain adopted the term for the domains that he assigned in fief to his barons. The han was, therefore, primarily territorial in its signification, and the principles that ruled its social organization were essentially feudal. No real tie of blood relationship bound together the entire population of a han. It is unfortunate that both native and foreign writers in English on feudal Japan continue to translate the term as "clan." The error is, historically and sociologically, too gross to be tolerated.

<sup>120</sup> Hideyoshi tamed the proud monastery with the irresistible art of a great despot. In 1584-1586 he first peremptorily ordered Kōya to surrender all arms and all the land it had taken beyond the limits of its "ancient domain"; when the monastery seemingly complied with his will, he gave back the bulk of the land just revoked, and guaranteed an armed protection of the mountain. Koya, II, 602-606, III, 64-65, 679-680. When later he decreed a general survey of land to be made in all Japan, and Kōya pleaded the inviolability of its domains against official intrusion, Hideyoshi summarily confiscated them all, made a complete survey of them—when he was astonished to find that Kōya had been holding large undeclared possessions besides its "ancient domain"—and then gave back in fief definite portions of the "ancient domain" that represented an annual productive power of 21,000 koku of hulled rice in all, and otherwise showered favors upon the subdued monastery. Ibid., II, 607-609, 622-623; V, 645-646. This was substantially the same domain the grant of which was renewed to Kōya in 1600 by Tokugawa Iyeyasu; it was but a fraction of the vast possessions Kōya could boast at the height of its power about 1580.

<sup>121</sup> The monastic domains, not being military, were not called han, but were referred to as zhi-ryō or san-ryō (domains of the monastery, of the mountain).

<sup>122</sup> The investiture of the entire domains as fief was begun by Hideyoshi in 1590 and 1592. Koya, V, 644-646. All fiefs, feudal and religious, received a renewed investiture from the hands of each new Tokugawa suzerain; samples of the letters of investiture of the domains of Iwashimidzu by the suzerains between 1600 and 1860 are given in Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 660-672.

<sup>123</sup> For a description of these mura about 1830, see K1, I, 784-786, 823-827, 841-859, 861-865.

